

THE

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JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the
POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 219.

After A. Posthumius, whose Speech we gave in our last, the next that rose up, was T. Quintius, who spoke in Substance thus:

My Lords,

 THAT there have been Heats and Animosities amongst us I shall admit, but they are now wisely put an end to; and I shall beg Leave to shew, how they were occasioned, and in what Manner they have been put an end to. If we look back upon the Conduct of our publick Affairs for almost these twenty Years, we may easily find the Cause of all our Heats and Animosities: We may justly admire, that they have not been more violent, and more fatal to those that were the Cause of them. We have been, during that long Period, in what some amongst us are pleased to call a State of Tranquillity; but that Tranquillity has been attended with all the Expence, and almost all the Misfortunes of a real War, without a

Chance of reaping any of that Glory, or any of those Advantages, that may be reaped by open Hostilities. We have been negotiating when we ought to have been fighting, and we have been concluding Treaties

A with those, against whom we ought to have declared War; and to render those Negotiations effectual, or to enforce the Observance of those Treaties, we have been keeping up expensive Armies, that have raised Terrors among our own People at home, because they could not guess for what they were designed, and fitting out expensive Squadrons, that have raised no Terrors among our Enemies abroad, because, I suppose, they very well knew for what they were designed.

This, my Lords, is a Summary of our Conduct for almost these twenty Years past; and such a Conduct could not, in my Opinion, fail of begetting Heats and Animosities at home, as well as Contempt and Infamy abroad; but to make this D the more evidently appear, I must examine into some of the particular Steps of our Conduct, and for that

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Purpose, shall begin with the famous Treaty of *Hanover*; for, I think, I need go no farther back at present. In the Beginning of the Year 1725, the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* thought fit, by themselves, to accommodate all the Differences that subsisted between them, and to conclude Treaties of Peace, Commerce, and Guaranty, in which there was not any one Article contrary to the Treaties that either of them had made with us. What Offence we could take at this Step in either of these Courts, I do not know: Nay, suppose it had been true, that they had concluded such a private Treaty as was represented, we had no Occasion for taking any extraordinary Measures against it; because the *Emperor* having no naval Force, he could give *Spain* no Assistance against us. However, we allowed ourselves to be so much alarmed, that the same Year we concluded at *Hanover* an Alliance with *France*, which, I am sure, is the last Nation in *Europe* we ought to enter into an Alliance with; and the whole Nation was terrified with an Invasion in favour of the *Prætender*, tho' every one knew, that the *Emperor* and *Spain*, joined together, could not fit out such a naval Force, as would have been equal to that which we can, at any Time, fit out upon a Week's Notice.

But we did not rest here, my Lords: We did not satisfy ourselves with providing, by such an Alliance, for our Defence: The very next Year, we raised Armies and fitted out Squadrons, as if we had been to attack those whom we thus represented to be our Enemies. We sent one powerful Squadron to the *Baltick*, another to the Coasts of *Spain* in *Europe*, and a third to their Coasts in *America*. At the same Time we augmented our Army to above 26,000 Men; and the whole Nation expected that our Enemies

would have been made to suffer severely for the ridiculous Designs they had formed against us. But our Armies and Squadrons produced no other Effect than to load our own People with Expences, and to make *Spain* begin actual Hostilities against us, by seizing all our Merchants Effects they could find in their Dominions, by fitting out Privateers and taking all our trading Ships they could meet with at Sea, and by laying Siege to *Gibraltar*.

Tho' we had at first, my Lords, no Provocation for attacking *Spain*, yet these Hostilities were, surely, a good Reason for declaring War against them; and, by the Treaties we made, and the Subsidies we engaged to pay, it look'd as if we really designed to do so; for after near a Year's Negotiation, we got the *Dutch* to accede to the Treaty of *Hanover*, under many Conditions and Restrictions: In about 18 Months we obtained a Promise from the *Landgrave of Hesse*, to keep in Readiness for our Service 12,000 Men, for which we engaged to pay him 125,000*l. Sterling*, which was continued to him for several Years, tho' his Troops were never employed in our Service: About the same Time, we obtained the Accession of *Sweden* to the *Hanover* Treaty, under Condition of paying them a yearly Subsidy of 50,000*l.* for three Years certain, one Half of which was to be paid by *France*: In about 19 Months we obtained the Accession of *Denmark*, under Condition of paying them a large Subsidy for four Years certain, which was all to have been paid by *France*, tho' we afterwards thought ourselves obliged to pay a Part of it: And upon the 25th of November, 1727, we obtained the Alliance and Guaranty of the Duke of *Wolfenbuttle*, upon Condition of paying him 25,000*l.* yearly, for four Years certain: By all these Preparations, Negotiations,

gociations, and Alliances, I say, my Lords, it look'd as if we had, at that Time, really a Design to declare War against *Spain*, and to revenge ourselves fully, for all the Insults they had put upon the Nation; but this was far from being the *A* Case: Our Armies, as well those at home, as those we paid so dear for abroad, remained quiet in their respective native Countries, and our Squadrons continued inactive upon the Coasts of *Spain*, at the very Time they were besieging *Gibraltar*, and making Prize of every one of our Merchant Ships they could meet with at Sea. Instead of declaring War, or committing Hostilities, against *Spain*, we were treating and negotiating with them, or at least with the *Emperor* on their Behalf; for the Court of *Spain* itself carried it at that Time so high, and held us in such Contempt, that they would not so much as treat with us; and in *May*, 1737, preliminary Articles were concluded at *Paris*, between the *Hanover* Allies and the *Emperor*, by which we promised, that all Hostilities should on our Side immediately cease, tho' *Spain* was no contracting Party in this preliminary Treaty; which Promise we religiously kept, tho' *Spain* refused to agree to the Preliminaries, and continued Hostilities for near a Year longer, when, by the Intervention of the *French* Ambassador at *Madrid*, we obtained from *Spain* a Convention for the Execution of those Preliminaries, in pursuance of which, a Congress was appointed; but this Congress was rendered abortive, by our joining in a new Alliance with *France* and *Spain* against the *Emperor*, by the famous Treaty of *Seville*.

By this Treaty, my Lords, we had got of our Side, almost all the Powers of *Europe* that have any naval Force, so that we could have no Pretence for fitting out a Squadron

with any warlike Intention; but this did not prevent our putting ourselves to the Expence of fitting out one. In order to pay a Compliment to the *Spanish* Court, we sent a Squadron of above twenty Men of War, all Capital Ships, to the *Mediterranean*, in the Year 1731, to conduct the Infant *Don Carlos* to *Italy*; and this we did, when they were erecting Forts and Batteries against our Town and Bay of *Gibraltar*, and committing many Depredations upon our Merchants in the *West-Indies*; which we took no Notice of, tho' strong Representations had been made, by our People at *Gibraltar*, against the former, and an Application had been made to Parliament, by our Merchants, against the latter. Nay, tho' the Court of *Spain* had evaded making that Reparation for past Injuries, which they had promised by the Treaty of *Seville*, we took no effectual Notice of it. We contented ourselves with sending Commissaries to wrangle and dispute about the Injuries we had suffered before that Treaty, and with ordering our Minister at that Court to present long, perplexed Memorials against those we suffered afterwards.

This, my Lords, was the State of Affairs between *Spain* and us in the Year 1733, when they attacked our Ally, the *Emperor*, in *Italy*, with those very Troops which we had assisted them to carry thither, and at a Time when, from the many Evasions they had before made use of, we had no Reason to expect any Satisfaction from them by peaceable Means. If we were, at that Time, under no Obligation, or if we had no Inclination to assist the *Emperor*, yet surely our own Interest should have inclined us to take that Opportunity of declaring War against *Spain*, if they refused to give us the most ample Reparation for our former Losses, and *M m 2* *abso-*

absolute Security against our being exposed to any such for the future; but instead of this, our Commissioners and Minister continued soliciting at the Court of *Spain* for that which we might, with great Justice, and then probably with great Success, have insisted peremptorily upon; and the *Emperor*, for want of that Assistance which he thought he was, by Treaties, intitled to from his Allies, was at last obliged to submit to those Terms which were prescribed to him by his Enemies.

Whilst the War continued, my Lords, the *Spaniards*, 'tis true, put a Sort of Stop to their Depredations in the *West-Indies*, and entertained our Ministers with some Hopes of a final Adjustment; but no sooner was the War over than, as might have been easily foreseen, they began to renew their Depredations with fresh Vigour in the *West-Indies*, and, I suppose, they plainly told us, that they would give no farther Satisfaction than they had done, with regard to any of our Losses sustained since the Treaty of *Seville*; for, I do not find, that it was ever afterwards seriously insisted on: I am sure, the Sum stipulated by the late Convention, was so far from being any Satisfaction for those Losses, that it was not near equal to the Losses our Merchants have sustained, by Depredations committed since the Concluding of that Treaty.

Thus, my Lords, we lost all the Advantages we might have reaped from the War between *Spain* and the *Emperor*, and I am afraid we lost a great deal of our Character into the Bargain; but, tho' we let slip that Opportunity for vindicating the Honour, and securing the Trade of the Nation, we took care to lay hold of it for putting the Nation to an extraordinary Expence, by raising Armies, fitting out Squadrons, forming Alliances, and en-

gaging to pay Subsidies. Soon after the War broke out, we increased our Land Force to near 27,000 Men; and for augmenting our Naval Force, we increased the Number of Seamen, employed in his Majesty's Service, to 30,000: We sent a Minister extraordinary to *Holland*, tho' we knew that the *States General* had before concluded with *France*, a Treaty of Neutrality; and in September 1734, we concluded a Treaty with the King of *Denmark*, by which we engaged to pay him an annual Subsidy of upwards of 56,000*l. Sterling* for three Years certain. From these extraordinary warlike Preparations, and most extraordinary Expences, the People supposed that we were to exert ourselves in the most vigorous Manner, for retrieving an ancient Ally from the Distress he was then in, for procuring Justice to our injured Merchants, and for vindicating the Honour, and securing the Trade of the Nation; but the *Emperor*, it seems, knew better, and therefore he submitted to the hard Terms that were offered him by his Enemies, which threw the Affairs of *Europe* into a Situation, perhaps the most unfortunate that they ever were in for this Nation.

Upon this, my Lords, we disbanded the additional Forces we had raised both by Sea and Land, and seemed to think we had nothing more to do; for, tho' the Depredations of the *Spaniards* upon our Merchants, and their Insults upon the Nation, in the *West-Indies*, were now become more frequent, and more open, than they had ever been before, it seemed to give us no real Concern. We took no Step for redressing these Grievances, or for protecting our Trade, till an Application to Parliament by our Merchants, two Years ago, made it necessary for some Persons to take a little more Notice of their just Complaints.

plaints. We then again began to make some warlike Preparations: We raised an additional Number of 10,000 Seamen; and we sent one Squadron to the *West-Indies*, and another to the *Mediterranean*. But still we trusted to our favourite, tho', by Experience, so often found to be ineffectual, Methods of Negotiation: Our Squadrons did nothing, but our Negotiators, 'tis true, did something: They procured us that famous Convention, which we had before us last Session of Parliament, and which we have now found to be as frivolous, with regard to this Nation at least, as the other Treaties we had before entered into with *Spain*; and thus, all our Negotiations and Treaties have, at last, ended in a War, perhaps the most dangerous, I am sure the most unseasonable, that this Nation was ever engaged in.

I shall now, my Lords, give you a short Account of the Charge the Nation has been put to, by these warlike Preparations, and pacifick Measures; but, in order to set this Charge in the clearest Light, I must observe, that if we kept no greater Number of regular Troops, nor any greater Number of Seamen, in our Pay, than are necessary for our Security in Time of Peace, I am convinced, the annual publick Expence could never amount to above 1,500,000*l.* so that, by Means of a Land Tax of 2*s.* in the Pound, and the usual Malt Tax, instead of contracting a new Debt yearly, which has been our Case for many Years, we should have been able to provide annually for the Service of the Year, and to pay off above 100,000*l.* yearly of our old Debt; and, if all useless Posts, and useless or extravagant Salaries or Perquisites, had been enquired into, and abolished or reduced, I am sure, it would have added a considerable Sum to our annual Savings. However, I shall

wave taking Notice of this last Article of Frugality, and state the necessary annual Expence of the Nation at 1,500,000*l.* in order, from thence, to compute the Supra-Charge that our warlike Preparations, and unnecessary Squadrons and Armies have cost us.

Upon computing the Sums granted every Year by Parliament, for the Service of the ensuing Year, I find, my Lords, that the first Session, after the famous Treaty of *Hanover*, granted, for the Service of the Year 1726, 1,939,285*l.* but this was not all that was expended in that Year; for, by a Vote of Credit and Confidence passed near the End of that Session, his Majesty was empowered to augment his Forces both by Land and Sea; and to take such Measures as the Emergency of Affairs might require; which Power was accordingly made use of, and therefore, by the next Session, there was granted, for the Service of the Year 1727, and for Deficiencies in the former Year 2,980,801*l.* For the Service of the Year 1728, there was granted 3,123,449*l.* For 1729, 3,087,859*l.* For 1730, 2,166,400*l.* For 1731, 2,060,232*l.* For 1732, (the Tranquillity of *Europe* being then, as some wise Politicians amongst us judged, established upon a lasting Foundation, tho' it was really upon a most precarious one, as soon after appeared) 1,743,359*l.* For 1733, (the War between *France* and its Allies of one Side, and the *Emperor* of the other, having broke out in that Year) 1,835,056*l.* For 1734, 3,821,714*l.* 1,200,000*l.* of which was to be applied towards paying off so much of the Debt of the Navy, and 287,343*l.* for the Deficiency of the preceding Year; but, as the War I have mentioned was then just broke out, and as we resolved that this Nation should have a Share in the Expence, tho' it was to

to have no Share in the War, this was far from being all that was expended that Year; for, by a Vote of Credit, agreed to about the End of the preceding Session, his Majesty was impowered to augment his Forces both by Sea and Land, and to take such other Measures as the Exigency of Affairs might require, in Pursuance of which, the Augmentations were made, and the other Expences incurred, which I have before mentioned; and therefore, for the Service of the Year B 1735, and the Deficiencies of the former Year, there was granted by Parliament the Sum of 3,070,129*l.*: For the Service of the Year 1736, 2,181,859*l.*: For the Service of the Year 1737, 1,952,725*l.* and for the Year 1738, 2,356,719*l.*

In these Computations, my Lords, I have omitted all those Sums that were granted for making good the Deficiencies of former Funds, and likewise all those that were granted for paying off any Part of our Debt: I have reckoned nothing but what was granted for current Services, or for extraordinary Expences incurred in the preceding Years; and, from these Computations, it will appear, that the Grants for the thirteen Years I have mentioned, amount in the Whole to 32,319,587*l.* Sterling. Whereas, if we had kept within 1,500,000*l.* yearly, which we may always do in Time of Peace, the Whole of our Expence for these thirteen Years, would have amounted to no more than 19,500,000*l.* so that by keeping up Armies, paying Subsidies, and fitting out Squadrons, which we made no Use of, nor had any Occasion for, we have wasted very near thirteen Millions, which, if it had been regularly and annually applied to its proper Use, would have paid off near seventeen Millions of our publick Debt; and, such a Payment would have been attended

with this farther Advantage, that it would have enabled us, some Years ago, not only to have reduced the Interest upon the remaining publick Debt, but also to have reduced the Interest of Money in general, to A 3 per Cent. which would have made it much easier, than it is at present, for many Landed Gentlemen to pay the Taxes necessary for the annual Support of our Government.

Considering the Situation we are now in; considering the Situation the Affairs of Europe are in; considering the Misfortunes one of our most antient and best Allies has met with, and considering the Insults this Nation has met with, and the many Depredations and Cruelties our Merchants and Seamen have C been exposed to; I believe I may, I do, my Lords, with Confidence appeal to every Man that hears me, whether we have reaped one Shilling's Werth of Advantage by the numerous Armies we have kept up, the powerful Squadrons we have D fitted out, the great Subsidies we have paid, and the many Negotiations and Treaties we have carried on and concluded since the memorable Year 1721? Shall we then be surprised, that there have been Heats and Animosities amongst us? Can E we be at a Loss in assigning the Cause? Could it be supposed, that a brave and a free People would bear, with Patience, being exposed, by pacifick Measures, to the Insults and Contempt of their Enemies, and that at a Time when they were loaded with an Expence, that might have made them the Terror of their F Foes?

It is evident, my Lords, that all the Heats and Animosities, that have been amongst us of late Years, have sprung from those pacifick Counsels, that have made us tamely submit to so many Insults, and those warlike Appearances, that have subjected us to so great an Expence; and, when we

we consider from whence our Heats and Animosities have proceeded, we may easily see, how they have been put an end to. His Majesty's Declaration of War has put an effectual End to them ; and, if the War be carried on in a warlike A Manner, if the Naval and Land Force of this Nation be wisely and vigorously employed, I dare answer for it, no Heats or Animosities will arise amongst us whilst it lasts. But, if the same negotiating Humour, which has so long prevented our declaring War, notwithstanding the many just Povocations, and the many good Opportunities we have had for it, should now prevent our pushing it with Vigour, as the Consequences will be more fatal, I am afraid, the Heats and Animosities, C that must ensue, will be much more violent.

For this Reason, my Lords, as his Majesty's Speech from the Throne, is always, in this House, understood to be a Speech from the Ministers, and as our Address by D way of Answer to that Speech, must consequently be supposed to be an Answer made to the Ministers ; therefore, if we make any Mention of Heats or Animosities, we ought to tell them, that as there are now no Heats or Animosities amongst us, E we hope they will take care to prevent any such for the future, by a vigorous Prosecution of the War. This should be the Amendment I would propose, if I could expect that my Advice would be taken ; but, as this I cannot expect, and F as some Lords may think, that this would be a more free Way of Addressing our Sovereign, than has been usual of late Years, tho' not more free than has been practised by our Ancestors, I shall content myself with being for the Amendment proposed ; and, I hope the noble Lord, who made the Motion, will endeavour as much as he can to

prevent Prejudices or Animosities having a Share in our Deliberations, by agreeing to leave these two ugly Words out of his Motion.

The next that rose up to give his Sentiments in this Debate, was L. Piso, the Purport of whose Speech was as follows, viz.

My Lords,

UPON such a solemn and important Occasion, I am sorry B to find that a Dispute should arise, or the Unanimity of this House disturbed, on account of a few Words or Expressions, which no Lord will pretend to be of any Importance in themselves, either to the Crown or the Nation, whatever they may be to the Minister ; and therefore, when they were taken Notice of, and objected to by my noble Friend near me, I expected that the noble Lord who, I supposed, had accidentally made them a Part of his Motion, would have so far contributed to that cordial Union which he was pleased to recommend, as to stand up and agree to the Amendment proposed. But when I found those Words and Expressions insisted on, not only by him, but by other Lords, who may be supposed to have had some Hand E in advising and framing his Majesty's Speech from the Throne, I then began to suspect that those Words had not dropt into the Motion by Accident ; but that they had been inserted with Design, to make this House confirm a Representation that has been made to his Majesty, by some who are, perhaps too often, near his Person ; and in this Light I must acknowledge, they are of the utmost Importance to the Crown, to the Nation, and above all, to the Honour and Dignity of this House.

I know, my Lords, it has been of late Years a Custom, to make the

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the Address of this House a Sort of Echo to his Majesty's Speech from the Throne; and, as Echoes never fail to repeat the last Words of a Sentence, so, it seems, we must never fail echoing back the last Paragraph of his Majesty's Speech. This, I say, has been a Custom for some Years past; but I cannot think that a religious Observance of this Custom, is either consistent with the Character we ought to preserve, or necessary for shewing our Respect to our Sovereign. I am sure, upon the present Occasion, it will be a Failure in our Duty to the King, and an exposing of ourselves to the Censure at least, if not to the Contempt, of the whole World.

Can any one, with Justice, say, my Lords, that Prejudices, Heats, or Animosities have of late been intermix'd in our Deliberations? Can any one, with Justice, say, that there has lately been any Division among the People of this Nation? I am really astonished, how such Words could creep into his Majesty's Speech from the Throne. The Speech, 'tis true, is generally said to be the Speech of the Minister; but I wonder what Minister dared to tell his Majesty, that there have been, or ever were, any Heats or Animosities in our Deliberations, or that there have lately been any Divisions amongst his People. I believe, there is no Assembly in the World, where Deliberations and Debates are carried on with more Decency and Calmness: I believe, the People of this Nation were never less divided in their Sentiments, than they have been of late Years. Therefore, if any one has of late presumed to say to his Majesty, that there were Heats or Animosities in any of our Deliberations, or that there are Divisions amongst his People, it must be one of the grossest Misrepresentations that was ever whispered into the Ear of any

Sovereign Potentate; and shall we, by any Expression in our Address, give Credit to such a Misrepresentation, and enter, as it were, into a Combination for putting an Imposition upon our Prince, that must give him a bad Opinion, not only of his People, but also of this Assembly, of which we have the Honour to be Members. Such a Conduct, with regard to the People, would be most unjust, but with respect to ourselves, it would be a Sort of *Felo de se*.

The People of this Nation, my Lords, were never, I believe, so unanimous in any one Thing, as they have, for several Years, been in that of desiring to have an Opportunity of revenging themselves against the Spaniards. The only Division, if it can be called so, that has of late appeared amongst us, has been between the People of one Side, and a few of our Ministers of the other. I say, my Lords, a few of our Ministers; for, I will not do so much Injustice to the Administration, as to say, that all those who have a Share in the Administration, are of that Party which has so long obstinately withheld the general Voice of their Country. I hope I may say, all those that have a Share in our Administration: I hope our Administration consists of a great Number of Persons: I am sure it ought, by our Constitution, to consist of a great Number, that have no other Dependence upon one another, but that which results from their Duty to their Country, and their Affection to their Sovereign. If it be otherwise, I am sorry for it, and glad I have not so much as the Character of having a Hand in it. But let it consist of what Number it will: Let it be a sole Corporation (a Term well known to the Reverend Bench) if the World please to think it so, I am sure, it has had, with regard

to its late pacifick Measures, no Party among the People for this Dozen of Years past; and, if any one has endeavoured to make his Majesty believe that it has, I am sure the Parliament, and particularly this House, ought to take a proper Method for undeceiving him; for while our Parliaments continue to be of any Use to the Nation, they will always take care that the King may safely resort to them, as to the Fountain of Truth, in order to know the real Disposition of his People, and the true Character of his Ministers.

This Division, my Lords, between a few of our Ministers, or one sole Minister, and his immediate Dependents, of one Side, and the whole Body of the People of the other, has been the only Division that has appeared of late Years amongst us; and, such a Division can in no Light be called a Division among the People; for in this Country, I think, the People and the Administration are two Terms that are generally made use of as opposite to each other, and there was never greater Reason for making use of these two Terms in this Sense, than there has been for several Years past. Then, with regard to Heats and Animosities, can any one say, that there has been lately any Heat or Animosity amongst the People, that is, amongst any one Set or Party of them against another? There have, indeed, been great Heats and Animosities in the Nation, but in this too, the People have been all united. They have most justly shewn Heats and Animosities against the *Spaniards*, and as justly against those who have so long prevented their doing themselves Justice. Our Heats and Animosities therefore, like our Divisions, have been between the whole Body of our People upon one Side, and our Ministers and Enemies upon

the other; and this shews, that whatever *Obstinacy Spain* may have shewn in her late Conduct towards this Nation, it could not be owing to the Divisions, Heats, or Animosities amongst us; because she could not but foresee, that if, by her *Obstinacy*, she provoked us to declare War against her, the whole Nation, both People and Ministers, would unite in a vigorous Prosecution of that War; which, I hope, is now our *Cafe*. I hope no Man will dare B to check the Progress of our Arms, or to interrupt the Prosecution of the War, by any Negotiation, unless such Preliminaries be offered as will atone for all past Injuries, and secure us against all future.

My Lords, it was not by our Divisions, that the *Spaniards* were encouraged to treat us in the contemptuous Manner they have done: It was by the Hopes they had, that our Ministers would not dare to give a Loose to our Vengeance, by declaring War against them; and, for these Hopes, the long Patience of our Ministers, and their Fondness for Negotiation, had given them but too much Reason. But, if there had been Divisions amongst us, and if those Divisions made the *Spaniards* contemn us so much, as to refuse fulfilling their Part of the last solemn Convention they made with us, I will then say, that our Divisions have done a most signal Service to the Nation. The most unlucky Thing that could have befallen this Nation, would have been F the Court of *Spain's* making that stipulated Payment which they had wisely promised, and we had generously, I cannot say wisely, accepted of in full of all Demands. If the *Spaniards* had made that Payment, which I am surprized they did not, our Ministers would, from thence, have got a Pretence to negotiate for the eight Months following, with the same Success

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they had negotiated for the eight Years preceding ; and the *Spaniards* would have got a Sort of Licence, to plunder our Merchants for eight Months longer, by which they might have fully reimbursed themselves the inconsiderable Sum paid for that Licence. But why should I say eight Months : Upon the Expiration of that Term, I am convinced, our Ministers would have found Reasons for giving them several Renewals, without any new Fine, because these Renewals, and the several Negotiations for that Purpose, would have been most excellent Expedients for putting off two or three Sessions more.

This, my Lords, has been our Case for many Years past : We have, every Year, and from Session to Session, been put off with Hopes, that before next Session, we should be able to obtain ample Satisfaction, and undoubted Security, by those Negotiations which every Man, except those that carried them on, foresaw would end in nothing but loading us with Expence at home, and with Ignominy and Contempt abroad. It is this, my Lords, that has created all the Divisions, and all the Heats and Animosities, that have been amongst us. The People were for Resentment and Revenge, our Peace-makers for Patience and Forgiveness : The People called out for Reparation for past Injuries, our Peacemakers submitted tamely to fresh Insults. The People were for bravely vindicating, our Peacemakers for meanly prostituting the Rights of the Nation. Thank God ! the People have at last prevailed ; and this has healed up all our Divisions, and put an End, I hope a final End, to all our Heats and Animosities.

His Majesty's Declaration of War G has now, I hope, brought all his Ministers to be of the same Sentiments his People have been of for

many Years : At least, if they are not so in their Hearts, they must be so in Appearance ; and this must of course put an end to the only Division that has of late appeared in this Nation : It must put an end to every Animosity but that just one against our Enemies, which will now, I hope, be allowed to take its full Swing. Perhaps some of our Ministers may still have a Hankering after Negotiation : If they have, let them but look upon his Majesty's Declaration of War, and they must stifle every such Affection. They cannot suppose, that his Majesty will submit to treat with a Nation, that has exercised great Cruelties and Barbarities upon the Persons of divers of his Subjects : They cannot suppose, that his Majesty will submit to treat with a Nation, that has insulted the British Colours in the most ignominious Manner ; unless that Nation shall, in the humblest Manner, sue for Peace, and offer, by way of Preliminary, the most signal Satisfaction, for the Cruelties and Barbarities they have exercised upon his Subjects, and for the ignominious Insults they have put upon his Crown and Dignity ; for I will be bold to say, that without such a signal Satisfaction, there is no future Security we can, with any Certainty, rely on. Nay farther, my Lords, no Man who reads his Majesty's Declaration of War can, I think, suppose, that he will treat with a Nation, that has been guilty of so many Breaches of Promise, and of so many Infractions of the most solemn Treaties, unless they offer, by way of Preliminary, to put a real Security in our Hands, as a Pledge for their Performance of what shall be afterwards agreed on ; and when the *Spaniards* are brought, by the Vigour of our Arms, (for they can never be brought to it by Negotiation) to offer these Things by

by way of Preliminary, I know so much of the generous forgiving Temper of my Countrymen, that I can engage for their unanimous Approbation of any Treaty our Ministers shall conclude, upon such safe and honourable Preliminaries.

Thus, my Lords, his Majesty's Declaration of War has put an end to all the Divisions, Heats, and Animosities, that have lately been raised and fomented, by the Conduct of some of our Ministers; and, the Form and Method in which it was drawn up will, I hope, secure us against a Renewal of any of those Divisions, Heats, or Animosities. For this Reason, I cannot let slip this Opportunity, to declare my Approbation of it. I not only approve of the Measure, but I highly approve of the Declaration itself. I do not know who it was that had the Honour of drawing it up: Be who he will, the Nation is, I think, highly obliged to him; for it is expressed in the most proper, the most just, and the strongest Terms that could be devised. But, my Lords, I must observe, that it is expressly contrary to the Reasoning that was made use of last Year, in favour of the Convention; and therefore, I was surprized to hear the noble Duke make a fresh Attempt to justify that Convention. I am sure, no Lord has a greater Respect for his Majesty, than he has: I am sure, no Man more heartily wishes to see our late Heats and Animosities utterly extinguished. But, when I consider the Terms in which the Declaration of War is expressed, I cannot think it altogether consistent with the Respect due to his Majesty, to attempt now, to justify a Convention, by which no Satisfaction was so much as stipulated, for those Cruelties and Barbarities the Spaniards had exercised upon his Majesty's Subjects, or for those ignominious

Insults they had put upon the *British* Flag: And, I must look upon a fresh Attempt to justify the Convention, as an Attempt to revive those Heats and Animosities that were raised in the Nation, by that most

A extraordinary Measure. I shall call it by no worse a Name, lest I should be accused of falling into the Error I am finding fault with: I hope it has now met with the Fate it deserves, and which, for the Honour of *Britain*, I wish it may meet B with: I hope it is fallen into eternal Oblivion; and I wish it could be rased out of every historical Record.

Having thus shewn, my Lords, what were the Divisions, Heats and Animosities, that have lately appeared amongst us, and having shewn that, by their very Nature, they must have all ceased, as soon as his Majesty declared War, I shall conclude with saying, that, I believe, the best Way to prevent their being renewed, is to forget that

C D there were ever any such amongst us. Our Ministers have now changed their Measures: They have now entered into Measures, which the whole Nation approves of: Why should they now seek to justify those former Measures, which the whole

E F Nation condemned? If they pursue with Vigour the Measures they have now entered into, the Nation seems willing to forget the Errors of their former Conduct: Why then should they now seek to brand with the odious Names of Prejudices, Heats, and Animosities, the Objections which the People thought they had Reason to make to their former Conduct? This is doing what they can, to raise Heats and Animosities, instead of endeavouring to stifle them; therefore, in my Opinion, it was most imprudent to allow any such Words to have a Place in his Majesty's Speech from the Throne; and, for this Reason, I must be

G N n 2 against

against their being echo'd back to the Throne, by our Address.

C. Helvius was the next that rose up, who spoke to this Effect, viz.

My Lords,

THE Word *Echo* is, I find, a favourite Term, which is generally made use of upon all such Occasions as the present, for turning into Ridicule, a Custom which has for many Years been established. I know, it is easy for one who has so much Wit at command, as the noble Lord who spoke last, to give a ridiculous Turn, to the most reasonable Custom that can be introduced; but I likewise know your Lordships Discernment to be so good, that you can easily distinguish between what is ridiculous in itself, and what is rendered so only by the happy Genius of him who has a Mind to explode it; and therefore, I need not say much in favour of a Custom which I think most reasonable, and which has met with the Approbation of many Years, and of several succeeding Generations. In private Life, it has always been reckoned one of the highest Degrees of Contempt or Disrespect, to take no Notice of what a Gentleman says, when his Discourse is particularly addressed to you: In publick Life, I must think it is the same, and therefore I must think, it would be a Failure in that Respect which is due to our Sovereign, if we should, in our Address, omit to take notice of any one material Paragraph in his Majesty's Speech from the Throne.

Who it was, my Lords, that had the Honour to be consulted by his Majesty about the Speech he has now made to us, or who it was that advised him to insert that Paragraph, by which his Majesty recommends to us, to avoid Heats and Animosities, I do not know;

but, if his Majesty had thought fit to confer that Honour upon me, I should have advised the very same Thing; and what has already happened amongst us, would, in my Opinion, have justified that Advice.

A There has, 'tis true, no Heats or Animosities happened this Day amongst us: There never do happen any such in our Debates; but the Debate of this Day will, I am afraid, add fresh Fuel to the Heats and Animosities that still subsist B without Doors; and, if Lords would consider, that this is generally the Consequence of every Debate that arises in this House, I am convinced, we should not have so many of them as we have; because, in this Case, I believe, no Lord would raise a Debate, by opposing any Proposition made by another, unless he thought the Honour or the Interest of his Country deeply concerned in the Question.

I shall not dispute with the noble Lord that spoke last, whether the few Words objected to, dropt by Accident into the Motion made by my noble Friend, or whether they were inserted with Design. In either Case, I think, they ought not to have occasioned a Debate; especially, at a Time when we E ought not only to be unanimous, but to avoid the least Appearance of Discord. If they dropt in by Accident, the noble Lord who spoke last has acknowledged, they are of no Importance, and might therefore, for the Sake of Unanimity, have been agreed to without any dangerous Consequence. And, if they were inserted with Design, I cannot so much as suppose any other Design, than that of shewing a proper Respect to his Majesty, which no Lord ought to oppose. G The noble Lord has, 'tis true, found out another Design: He supposes, that they were inserted on purpose, for justifying some Representation made

made to his Majesty. I do not know of any Representation that has been made to his Majesty, nor do I think there was the least Occasion for representing to him, that there have been Divisions amongst us: It is what he could not but know, by looking upon the Journals of either House of Parliament, which, I hope, either he or his Servants may do without any Offence: And we cannot, in Justice, suppose him so much unconcerned about what passes amongst his People, as not to know, that there have been great Heats and Animosities among them. None of his Servants, therefore, had the least Occasion to make any such Representation to him, and if any of them have made such a one, it was so far from being a Misrepresentation, that it has been confirmed, by every Lord that has spoke in this Debate. It is acknowledged on all Sides, that there have been Divisions, Heats, and Animosities in the Nation; but, on one Side, it has been said, that they are all now put an end to, by his Majesty's Declaration of War, and that they were not between one Set or Party of the People and another, but between the whole Body of the People on one Side, and his Majesty's Servants or Ministers, as some always affect to call them, on the other.

My Lords, I am extreamly glad to hear, that our Divisions are all put an end to, by his Majesty's Declaration of War: I wish it may be so. If it is, it shews his Majesty's Wisdom, and his recommending to us, to avoid any such for the future, in my Opinion, shews his Goodness. But, I do not know what the noble Lord means, by Divisions between the whole Body of the People of one Side, and a few of his Majesty's Ministers of the other. He must be an unhappy Minister, that has no Set

of Men, no Party in the Nation, that approves of his Conduct. I do not know that I ever read of such a Minister in our Histories, and, I believe, we have had as bad, as any we have at present. But for God's Sake! what is this Measure, that has been approved of, by a few of his Majesty's Ministers, and condemned by all the rest of the Nation? If his Lordship means any of our late Negotiations, or even the late Convention, I must desire him to recollect, that they were all, not only approved of, but advised by both Houses of Parliament, as well as by all his Majesty's Ministers. I shall grant, that there was a Party in the Nation, as well as in each House of Parliament, that disapproved of those Measures; and, I do not pretend to find fault with them for so doing. Those that are not employed by his Majesty, may differ in Opinion with those that are, and, thank God! they may, in this free Country, avow their Sentiments, and declare them openly. This, I shall never find fault with: I hope we shall always retain this valuable Liberty: But, I must find fault, when Heats and Animosities are mixed with that Liberty which is indulged us by our Constitution; and this is what his Majesty most graciously, I think, advises us to avoid: This is what we are to declare we shall avoid, by the Address my noble Friend has been pleased to propose; and this, I think, is the least we can do, in return to that most gracious Advice, his Majesty has vouchsafed to give us from the Throne.

I am far from saying, my Lords, that any Heats or Animosities have lately appeared in this House; but there have been Divisions amongst us, and, by what the noble Lord has said of the late Convention, he has shewn, that those Divisions still subsist. I am sorry that Affair should

should now be brought into any of our Debates. I am certain, it is what we have nothing to do with, upon this Occasion; but, when fault is found with any past Measure, or satirical Things thrown out against it, it is natural, and even reasonable, in those who advised or approved of it, to say something in its Vindication. The Convention, my Lords, was attended with this Benefit at least, that it gave us Time to prepare for War, and to give Notice to our Merchants, to withdraw their Effects out of the *Spanish* Dominions; and I must think, that *Spain's* refusing to perform what was therein stipulated, is now a strong Argument for convincing us, that it was both honourable and advantageous on our Part. To which I must add, that it was not only ratified by his Majesty, but approved of by both Houses of Parliament: and therefore, if the Respect that is due to our Sovereign does not, the Respect we ought to have for that Assembly, of which we are Members, ought now to prevent our giving it ill Names, or loading it with any invidious Epithet.

I shall not now, my Lords, take upon me to determine, whether it would have been happy for this Nation or no, to have had the Convention punctually performed, on the Part of *Spain*. But, I cannot think it would have been any Loss to us, to have had 95,000*l.* of *Spanish* Money, to have divided amongst our injured Merchants; and I am sure, it would have been happy for the Nation, to have obtained Justice without a War, if such a Thing could have been any way accomplished. This Consideration must, of itself, justify our endeavouring to obtain Satisfaction, by Negotiation; and the Convention shewed, that our Hopes of succeeding in that Way, were not without some Foundation. There-

fore, when I hear sarcastical Reflections thrown out against our pacifick Measures, which, now War is declared, ~~must~~ be allowed to be quite out of the Question, I must suppose, that it proceeds from A that Spirit of Division, which has shewn itself formerly even in this House, and which has, without Doors, often broke forth in violent Heats and Animosities.

By his Majesty's Declaration of War, I shall grant, my Lords, that B this Spirit seems to be somewhat allayed, but, I'm afraid, it is far from being extinguished. The same Spirit that made some Part of the People shew such Heats and Animosities against those Measures his Majesty was pleased to take for preventing a War, will, I believe, prevail with them to find fault with every Measure his Majesty may be pleased to take, for bringing it to a happy and speedy Conclusion. The Misfortunes we may meet with, and some we must meet with, will be aggravated, the Advantages we may gain, and, I hope, we shall gain a great many, will be depreciated: In short, unless your Lordships begin to shew a good Example, I expect that every Step of his Majesty's Conduct in Time of War, E will be opposed or misrepresented, as well as every Step of his Conduct has been in Time of Peace. The Calm we now seem to enjoy, is not, I'm afraid, owing to the utter Extinction of those Flames of Strife and Contention, which too often prevail in this Kingdom, but to their wanting Materials to feed on. The War has been so lately declared: The Incidents that have happened, or could have happened, are so few, that the most discontented have, as yet, no Room for shewing their Spleen against the Administration; but, from what has happened to-day, we have, I think, no Reason to conclude, that our

our Discontents or Divisions are at an end. No Fault can be found with the Declaration of War, no Fault can, as yet, be found with the Conduct of the War; but Fault must be found with something; therefore, we have this Day had the Conduct of our publick Affairs for twelve or fourteen Years past examined into, and every Step of it, I think, condemned, tho' no Part of it any way relates to the Question now before us. For my Part, my Lords, I shall not give your Lordships the Trouble of entering into a minute and particular Justification of our Conduct, and of all the publick Expences that have been incurred, during that long,—very long Period, as some have thought it: The Task would not be difficult; but it would be tedious, and, I think, unnecessary: Therefore, I shall only observe in general, that every Step of our Conduct, during that Period, has been approved by both Houses of Parliament, and every Article of our publick Expence, has not only been approved, but provided for, by Parliament; consequently, as there have been several general Elections within that Period, I must think, that not only the Conduct of our publick Affairs, but all the publick Expence the Nation has been put to, has met with the Approbation of a great Majority of the People.

We are now, my Lords, engaged in a War, and in a War too, that may prove a very heavy and dangerous one, especially, if, by our Divisions, some of our Neighbours should be encouraged to join with Spain against us, and our Allies discouraged from giving us any Assistance; therefore I wish some noble Lords would do what they acknowledge to be right: I wish they would forget all former Contentions, and heartily unite in every Thing that may tend to shew our Friends,

as well as Enemies, that whatever Divisions there may be amongst us, whatever Faults we may find with the Conduct of our Ministers, in Time of Peace, we will do nothing, nor say any Thing, that may disconcert or interrupt them, in the Prosecution of a just and necessary War. If this had been the Case, I am sure no Part of his Majesty's Speech, nor any Part of the Address now proposed, would have been objected to; for, suppose there were now no Divisions amongst us, nor any Heats or Animosities in the Nation, suppose there never had been any such, yet, I cannot think it would have been wrong in his Majesty now, at the Beginning of a War, to caution us against Divisions, Heats, and Animosities, nor in any of his Ministers to advise him to do so; and far less would it have been wrong in us, to make a proper Return to that Part of his Majesty's Speech, by declaring in our Address, that we would take care to follow the Advice his Majesty had so graciously and so properly given. It is what has been often done, by the Sovereign, from the Throne, and it is what this House has never failed to make a proper Return to; therefore, if we should, upon this Occasion, neglect to do so, I should think, I am sure the whole World without Doors would think, it proceeded from that very Thing which his Majesty complains of in his Speech, and to which he most justly, in my Opinion, imputes the late, and otherwise unaccountable Obstinacy, or rather Contumacy of Spain. For this Reason, my Lords, I shall be so far from disagreeing with any Part of the Address my noble Friend has been pleased to propose, especially that Part which some noble Lords have thought fit to object to, that if he had omitted to propose it, I should have stood up in my Place, and

and endeavoured to supply the Defect, by way of Amendment.

The next Speaker upon this Subject, was C. Mucius Scævola, whose Speech was in Substance thus:

My Lords,

Although I have often had the Misfortune to find what I approved of, opposed by some Lords for whom I had a very great Esteem, yet, I never could allow myself to call that Opposition a Division, or to think that it proceeded from any Party-Prejudice, or private Discontent: and, I am sure, it cannot, with the least Justice, be said, that any late Opposition has, in this House, been carried on with Heat or Animosity. I have been always so candid as to think, that if any Lord opposed what I approved, he did it, because he thought it was wrong; and, if he proposed any Thing in which I could not join, I have always supposed, he did it, because he thought it was right. This has always been my Way of Thinking, about the Conduct of those who differed from me in Opinion, and I hope it has been their Way of Thinking, about mine. Therefore, I cannot think there has been lately any Thing amongst us that could properly be called a Division, and I am sure, there has of late no Heat or Animosity appeared in any of our Debates. I have, indeed, observed great Heats and Animosities expressed, both within Doors and without, against the insulting Treatment we have, for many Years, received from *Spain*; but I was so far from disapproving, that I have always joined in such Heats and Animosities: I have always reflected upon the Insults offered us by *Spain*, with as great Indignation as any Man in the Kingdom, tho' I differed perhaps with some, as to the

Method, or rather as to the Time of shewing our Resentment in a proper Manner, against the Conduct of that insolent and impotent Nation.

It is long since their Conduct deserved the highest and most immediate Resentment: It is long since

we might, with Justice, have made them feel the most fatal Effects of our Vengeance; and whatever the natural Haughtiness of that Nation may make them suppose, the rest of Europe must be convinced, that our

BForbearance has been owing to a Compassion for their Weakness, and not to any Dread of their Power. It was this, that made his Majesty resolve, by accepting of the late Convention, to give them a fresh Opportunity, for seeing the Foolish-

Cness of their Conduct towards us, and for preventing, by a Submission, that severe Correction it deserved to meet with. But I am surprized to hear some Lords insist so strongly, and as it were triumphantly, upon that Convention's meeting with the

DApprobation of both Houses of Parliament. I believe, there were a great many, who approved of the Address proposed upon that Occasion, tho' they were very far from approving of the Convention. I remember, one of the chief Arguments insisted on in favour of that Address, was, that it did not imply an Approbation of the Convention. If such a Thing had been proposed, I believe, instead of meeting with the Concurrence of both Houses of Parliament, it would have been rejected by both, with Disdain.

I am convinced, that several Lords gave their Consent to the Address proposed upon that Occasion, because they thought it did not imply an Approbation of the Convention; and as I had the Honour to be so well acquainted with the Measures his Majesty had resolved on, that, if *Spain* did not soon yield to a great deal more than was

was expressly stipulated by the Convention, I was thoroughly convinced, that a War would speedily ensue; therefore, tho' I did not approve of the Convention, nor of the Address that was proposed upon that Occasion, yet, I was against our doing any Thing in this House that might hurry our Ministers into a War, before they had sufficiently provided for prosecuting it with Vigour; and, as a Resolution proposed in this House, towards the End of last Session, would have been a Sort of Parliamentary Declaration of War against *Spain*, and consequently would have precipitated the Nation into a War, before we were sufficiently prepared, either for defending ourselves, or offending the Enemy, therefore, I was against that Resolution, tho' it was proposed and supported by several Lords for whom I shall always have the greatest Regard.

So much I thought necessary to trouble your Lordships with, for explaining my Conduct last Session, D left it should be inferred from what has been said in this, that, if *Spain* had made the Payment stipulated by that Convention, I should have been for continuing to negotiate with them for *eight Months*, or *one Month* longer, and allowing them, in the mean Time, to search and seize our Ships in the *American Seas*. This, my Lords, I should have been against, notwithstanding my having been against the Resolution proposed at the End of last Session; and, if this had happened to be the F Case, it would, indeed, have made a Division amongst us; but then, it would have been such a Division as a noble Lord has represented: It would have been a Division between the whole People of the Nation on one Side, and a very few of his G Majesty's Ministers of the other. About the Time the Convention was concluded, there was, I shall

grant, some Sort of Dispute, tho' not properly a Division, about the most proper Time for declaring War against *Spain*. Some thought that it ought then immediately to be declared, whilst others thought A that it was prudent to wait *four Months* longer. But no Man thought, at least, no Man, Minister or other, dared to say, that, if *Spain* refused to make the stipulated Payment within the Time limited, or pretended to evade any longer settling B the chief Point in Dispute between the two Nations, we ought not, even in that Case, to declare War, or begin Reprisals against them. About this, there never was any Dispute, much less a Division amongst us, and therefore, upon C their failing to perform what they had promised, Hostilities were begun, and War at last declared, as I expected, with as great Unanimity among all Ranks and Degrees of Men, as any publick Measure ever met with. For this Reason, I cannot but disapprove of that Paragraph in his Majesty's Speech, which relates to Divisions, Heats, and Animosities; and much more must I disapprove of the Return proposed to be made to it in our Address. The former, in my Opinion, bears, and the latter confirms, an Insinuation, that is evidently and absolutely false. They both tend to insinuate, as if there were a Party amongst us that, with Heat and Animosity, opposed and condemned our having declared War against *Spain*. If a Foreigner, who knew nothing of the Disposition of the People of this Nation, were to read his Majesty's Speech, this, I am convinced, would be the Construction he would put upon the Paragraph found fault with; and, in this Opinion he would be confirmed, by reading in our Address, the Answer proposed to be made to that Part of his Majesty's Speech.

This, I say, my Lords, will be the Opinion of every Foreigner that reads his Majesty's Speech from the Throne, and our Address by way of Return; and as it is not only a false Opinion, but likewise an Opinion that may be of great Prejudice to A this Nation, I shall be against our saying any Thing in our Address that may tend towards establishing, among Foreigners, a Belief in an Opinion so injurious to the People of this Kingdom, and so mischievous with regard to its Consequences in B the present War.

I have, my Lords, the Satisfaction to think, that no Man doubts of my Esteem for his Majesty's Person, or my Zeal for his Service; but I shall always be for shewing that Esteem, and testifying that Zeal, by declaring my Sentiments freely in every Place, and upon all Occasions, where my Duty calls upon me to do so; and, upon the present Occasion, I think, I am called upon to do so, by all the Ties of Honour, Loyalty, and Friendship; because, I am convinced, his Majesty would not, in his Speech, have made use of any such Words as those now complained of, if some malicious Insinuations had not been made to him against those who have, with great Calmness and Decency, opposed some late Measures, for no other Reason, I believe, but because they thought them inconsistent with the Honour or Interest of their Country. As such Insinuations must tend towards giving his Majesty an ill Impression of those, whom I shall always look on as good Subjects, tho' they may sometimes differ with me in Opinion, therefore, I shall be against our doing any Thing in this House, that may confirm such Insinuations; and for this Reason, I must be against G inserting in our Address the Words or Expressions objected to, by some of the noble Lords who have spoke before me in this Debate.

As soon as C. Mucius Scævola had ended his Discourse, C. Plinius Cæcilius got up, and spoke in Substance as follows, viz.

My Lords,

AS nothing is more necessary at the Beginning of a War, than Concord and Unanimity amongst ourselves; and as our Unanimity at present seems to be interrupted by a Misapprehension of what his Majesty has said in his Speech from the Throne, and likewise of what the noble Lord has been pleased to propose by way of Answer; I hope your Lordships will excuse my rising up, to endeavour to restore that Unanimity which I wish to see established, by explaining and removing that Mistake which, I think, has occasioned the present Interruption.

The Objections that have been made to some Part of the Address proposed, have, in my Opinion, my Lords, been occasioned by supposing, that the Heats and Animosities there mentioned, relate to the present Time, and to the late particular Measure, of declaring War against Spain. Now, if your Lordships will but consider the Expressions themselves, which the noble Lord was pleased to make use of, in that Part of the Proposition he has made to you, which has been objected to, and the Expressions in that Part of his Majesty's Speech to which they refer, you will see, that neither the one nor the other can be supposed to relate to the present Time, or to any particular Measure. The Expressions made use of by his Majesty in his Speech from the Throne, and by his Lordship in the Proposition, he has made for an Address by way of Answer thereto, plainly refer to the Time past, and to Heats and Animosities in general, without the least Application

to any particular Measure; and when this is maturely considered, I am of Opinion, no reasonable Objection can be made, either to his Majesty's Speech, or to any Part of the Proposition now before you.

Upon the present Occasion, my Lords, I do not think it necessary for me to shew, what Sort of Heats and Animosities have been amongst us, or how, or between whom, our late Divisions have arisen. It is acknowledged by all, that there have been Divisions, Heats, and Animosities, amongst us: Nay, they became so notorious, that even our Enemies took Notice of them, as appears by the *Spanish* Manifesto; and I am convinced they were, as his Majesty has told us, the chief Cause of that Obstinacy which *Spain* has of late Years shewn in all her Negotiations with us. Therefore, whatever these Divisions were, they must be allowed to be a good Foundation for that fatherly and tender Exhortation to Peace and Unity, which his Majesty has most graciously given us in his Speech from the Throne. Suppose our late Divisions had been between the People of one Side, and his Majesty's Ministers or Servants on the other; and that those Divisions had occasioned Heats and Animosities in the Kingdom, even such a Division, if any such could be, would be unhappy for the Nation; and as his Majesty is the political Father of us all, as he is the Father of his Servants, as well as of his Subjects, it became, in that Case, necessary for him, especially at the Beginning of a foreign War, to endeavour to reconcile them to each other, by recommending Peace and Unity to both; at least it must, I think, be acknowledged, that it was gracious in him to do so, and that it shewed his Concern for the general Welfare of his Kingdoms.

But, my Lords, I am far from

being of Opinion, that any such Division can ever exist, in which the whole People are of one Side, and the King's Ministers, or a few of them only, of the other. I believe, the most hated or despised A Administration that ever was in this Kingdom, had a great many Friends among the People, and a great Party that approved of their Measures; and therefore, I cannot approve of the Custom mentioned by a noble Lord in this Debate, of making use of the Words People and Administration as two opposite Terms: I think it is an invidious Sort of Distinction; and therefore I must think, that the Custom is at all Times somewhat seditious. If any one has of late made use of this Distinction, and endeavoured to recommend the Use of it to others, the doing so, could proceed from nothing but Heat and Animosity; for none of his present Majesty's Ministers have done, or advised any Thing, that could give the least Room for thinking, that they were in any Interest opposite to that of the People. Gentlemen may differ in their Opinions; and those who have the Honour to serve his Majesty, may think that for the Good of their Country, which others think not to be so; but those who differ from them, ought to judge of their Conduct with that Candour and Charity, which the noble Lord who spoke last has recommended, and which, I am convinced, is a Way of Judging practised by him upon all Occasions. If every Man, both within Doors and without, wou'd follow his Lordship's Example, we should have no Heats or Animosities in the Kingdom, nor would any one suppose such a Division, as that of the whole Body of the People upon one Side, and a few of his Majesty's Ministers upon the other.

O o 2 Such

Such a Division, my Lords, can never, as I have said, exist in any Country, and much less in this than any other, unless our Constitution should be first overturned, or at least suspended; and I am sure we have lately had nothing like it. We had, indeed, a very great Division amongst us, but last Session of Parliament: Some were for an immediate War against *Spain*, notwithstanding the Convention they had agreed to, and others were for waiting a few Months longer, to see if we could obtain Justice by peaceable Means. His Majesty's Servants knowing the great Regard he had for the Trade and Welfare of his Subjects, were very generally, I believe, of the latter Party, which was so far from consisting of his Majesty's Ministers only, that it had a Majority in both Houses of Parliament, and consequently, by our Constitution, we are obliged to suppose, that it had a Majority among the People. Notwithstanding this Majority, they supported their Opinion, both within Doors and without, with great Moderation and Tranquillity; but I cannot say so of the other Party. In this House, I shall grant, there was no Heat or Animosity appeared; but the Party without Doors did break out into Heats and Animosities, and endeavoured, as is usual upon all such Occasions, to support by Noise and Clamour without Doors, what they could not support by Reason and Argument within. This Division, and these Heats and Animosities, are now, 'tis true, at an End; but others may arise, and therefore it was very natural, and even necessary, I think, for his Majesty, the next Time he met his Parliament, to recommend Unity and Concord, and to exhort us to avoid Heats and Animosities. He does not so much as suppose there are any at present subsisting: He gives us only a gracious Exhortation to avoid such in Time to come; This

surely can never be taken amiss in any Country, or at any Time; and much less in a free Country, where Divisions, Heats and Animosities are apt to arise, notwithstanding the utmost Caution; and at the Beginning of a heavy and dangerous War, when they may be of more pernicious Consequence than at any other Time.

Having thus explained to your Lordships, what is meant by that Paragraph in his Majesty's Speech, in which Divisions, Heats, and Animosities are mentioned, I hope it will appear, that no reasonable Objection can be made to it: I hope it will appear, that it is only a general Exhortation to Peace and Unity; and shall we so much neglect, or rather, in my Opinion, contemn such a kind, C such a gracious, and such a fatherly Exhortation, as not to make the least Return to it in our Address? What the noble Lord has proposed, is, I think, the least Return we can make: His Lordship's Proposition, like what his Majesty has said in his Speech, D does not relate to the present Time, nor to any particular Division that has been amongst us. It is only a general Declaration, that we will promote Harmony and Unanimity in Time to come. This is, I hope, what every Lord in this House is resolved on, and therefore, I hope, no E Lord will oppose our giving his Majesty and his Allies the Satisfaction, and his and our Enemies the Mortification, to declare it in the Terms proposed, or in more express Terms, if such could be contrived and were thought necessary.

C. *Claudius Nero was the next that spoke, the Purport of whose Speech was as follows, viz.*

My Lords,

IF I were to consider his Majesty's Speech from the Throne, as a Speech really framed by himself, and without the Advice of any of his Mini-

Ministers, I should be apt to join with the noble Lord that spoke last, in looking upon it as a fatherly and tender Exhortation; but it is well known, that in this House we always do, nay, we ought to consider A his Majesty's Speech as the Speech of his Minister; and, when I consider it in that Light, I cannot look upon that Part of it, which relates to Divisions, Heats and Animosities, as a friendly Exhortation: I must look upon it as a designed Reflection upon B those, who, not only last Year, but for many Years preceding, took the Liberty to condemn his tame Submissions and pacifick Negotiations, which have, as was long since foretold, at last ended in an open and declared War; and that at a Season, which, if we consider the present Situation of Affairs in *Europe*, we must allow to be the most unlucky for this Nation, of any we could have chosen, ever since *Spain* began to insult and plunder, and he to negotiate and submit.

In this Light, I say, my Lords, I must consider it, and I consider it in this Light, because we have of late Years had no Appearance of any Division, much less of any Heat or Animosity, but what has been occasioned by his Measures. We have lately had none of those Party Divisions amongst us, with which this Nation used formerly to be perplexed: The *Jacobite* Party is now, thank God! entirely broke: Whig and Tory, High Church and Low, have been many Years ago quite forgot: We are all united in a Resolution to support and preserve our Constitution under the present happy Establishment: Nothing like a Division has for many Years appeared amongst us, but what was occasioned by some Ministerial Measure, which was thought ruinous to the Trade, or inconsistent with the Honour of the Nation; and in such Circumstances, when the Minister comes

and tells us, That Heats and Animosities have been, with the greatest Industry, fomented throughout the Kingdom; that our Divisions have encouraged our Neighbours to use us ill; and that we ought to avoid all such for the future; I must look upon it as a designed Reflection upon those, who have found fault with any of his Measures in Time past, and as an imperious Sort of Exhortation to approve and submit blindly, in Time to come, to every Thing he may vouchsafe to propose to us, and to every Measure he may think fit to pursue.

This, my Lords, is the Construction that must be put upon what is said in his Majesty's Speech about Divisions, Heats, and Animosities, by every Lord who considers the Speech in that Light, in which alone it ought to be considered in this House. This is what could not but be foreseen by those who advised the Speech; and therefore, if they have this Day heard any unwelcome and galling Truths relating to their past Conduct; if their past Measures have not been allowed to sink into that Oblivion they deserve; those who advised the Speech have themselves only to blame; for when an Opposition, that Experience as well as Reason has justify'd, is called Animosity, and is assigned as the Cause of that Misfortune, which evidently proceeded, not from the Opposition, but from the Measures that were opposed, it became necessary for those who had joined in that Opposition, to justify their Opposition, by exposing and again demonstrating the Weakness of those Measures they had opposed. The Disagreement therefore that has this Day happened amongst us, and which ought, certainly, by all Means to have been prevented, is not owing to those who have this Day found fault with past Measures, but to those who most unnecessarily, I shall not say arrogantly, revived

revived the Memory of them, by giving the invidious Names of Division, Heat, and Animosity, to the Opposition that was made to them.

From this Consideration, every Lord that has this Day found fault with any of our late Measures, must be justified, and from this likewise, I hope, I shall be justified, in taking some Notice of what has been this Day said in favour of our late Convention with *Spain*. The Disadvantages and Dishonour of that Treaty were last Session so fully exposed, that I should not have given your Lordships the Pain to hear that Treaty again mentioned, if some Arguments had not been now advanced in its Vindication, that neither were, nor could be made use of, when it was last Year under our Consideration. We have been told, my Lords, that this Treaty now appears to have been an honourable and advantageous Treaty for this Nation, because *Spain* refused to perform it on their Part. So far otherwise, that their refusing to pay the 95,000*l.* confirms what was said last Year by those that opposed our Approving of the Treaty. They then foretold, that *Spain* would not pay a Shilling of that Monty, unless our South-Sea Company first paid them the 68,000*l.* they demanded; and the Event has confirmed what was then prophesied; which shews, that the Treaty was really more dishonourable than what upon the Face of it appeared; tho' even this pretty clearly appeared, by the King of *Spain's* Declaration, which our Negotiators had, it seems, accepted of as the Condition upon which his very Signing, and much more his Performing of that Treaty, was to be proceeded on. Their insisting upon our receiving that Declaration, shewed the Contempt they had of our Conduct, and their adhering so closely to what they thereby declared, was only a farther and a stronger Manifestation of that Contempt.

Another new Argument this Day made use of in favour of that Convention, is, that it was necessary for us to prepare for War before we declared it; and that the Convention gave us Time to be prepared for War, and to send Notice to our Merchants to remove their Ships and Effects out of the *Spanish* Dominions, which we could not otherwise have had. This Argument, my Lords, is built upon the Supposition of a Fact, which every one knows to be false. Did we make the least Preparation for War during the four Months the Convention held us in Suspence? Did we in all that Time give the least Hint to our Merchants to withdraw their Effects? It is well known, that we did not begin to prepare for War till the Month of *June* last, nor did we send Notice to our Merchants to withdraw their Effects, till the Month of *July*; and might not this have been done in the Month of *June* or *July* was a Twelve-

month, as well as in the Month of *Jan* or *July* last? Certainly it might. Nay, we can always, in a Month's Time, prepare sufficiently for commencing a War against *Spain* alone, and therefore have no Occasion for entering into a dishonourable Negotiation, much less for concluding a dishonourable Treaty with them for such a Purpose.

A As these, my Lords, are the only new Arguments I have this Day heard in favour of that most dishonourable Treaty, I shall give your Lordships no farther Trouble upon a Subject, that I shall always mention with Reluctance, because the least Mention of it must, I think, be grating to every Man that bears it, if he has any Regard for the Honour or Interest of this Kingdom.

B What I have said, when added to what has been before said upon the same Subject, will sufficiently justify the Opposition that was made to it; therefore, I must think, it was wrong to advise the Inserting of any Thing in his Majesty's Speech, that might seem to cast a Reflection upon that Opposition; and consequently, I must be against our enforcing, and, as it were, redoubling that Reflection, by any Words in our Address. I know, that the Custom of *echoing* back (I must, my Lords, make use of the Word *Echo*; if I knew a more burlesque Word, or a Word that more strongly shewed my Contempt, I would certainly use it) I say, my Lords, I know that the Custom of *echoing* back

C his Majesty's Speech from the Throne, in the Address of this House, is of some Standing; but I likewise know, that Ministers have, ever since that Custom began, had more Influence in Parliament, than they had in former Reigns, and more, perhaps, than they ought to have in any Reign. Such a Custom is rather a Sign of Complaisance to the Minister, than of Respect to the Sovereign.

D E The greatest and best Sign of Respect we can shew to the Sovereign, is Sincerity; and, if this Custom continues for any Time longer, our Sincerity to our Sovereign will, I am afraid, be lost in a fawning Complaisance to his Minister.

F G Let us therefore, my Lords, take this Opportunity, which I think a good one, to interrupt the Custom, lest it should, as other Customs have done, become Common Law, which the Lawyers say is Common Reason, even tho' it be inconsistent with the Reason of every Man but a Lawyer. But, if your Lordships are resolved, that your Address shall be a compleat and faithful *Echo* to the Speech, I think, you should go farther than has yet been proposed: I think you should take special Care to declare it as your Opinion, that the Heats and Animosities fomented amongst us, has been one of the chief Encouragements to the Court of *Spain*, to hold such a Conduct towards this Nation, as to make

make it necessary to have Recourse to Arms ; because, this I take to be, with Regard to the Minister, the most important Sentence in the whole Speech ; and therefore ought not, surely, to be neglected by those, who think that every material Sentence in his Majesty's Speech ought to be most dutifully ~~recd~~ back to the Throne by the Address of this House.

L. *Emilius Paullus* rose up next, and spoke to this Effect, viz.

My Lords,

I must begin what I have to say to your Lordships upon this Occasion, with observing, that I am very much disappointed in the Hopes, I with Pleasure entertained for some Time, before we met in this House. Our Situation before this Session opened, was very different from what it was before the Opening of the last. We had then just received the sorrowful Tidings of a new Convention between us and *Spain*, which, before we saw it, had great Encomiums bestowed upon it, by those who had been concerned in the Negotiation. This new Treaty was to put a happy and an honourable End to all our Differences with Spain. It was to give Reparation to our injured Merchants, and to procure Satisfaction to the Nation, and Security to our Trade in Time to come. In short, it was to give us all we wanted, and more than we could have expected. But these Encomiums I could put no Faith in. I knew the Haughtiness of those we had been treating with ; I knew the contemptible Opinion they had of the Persons they treated with ; and therefore, I expected, that this new Treaty would resemble some former Treaties we have lately made, in nothing so much as in Dishonour and Disgrace. This made me expect to see, during that Session, great Contention within Doors, and great Murmuring and Discontents without ; and in this I was not disappointed.

But before the Opening of this Session, my Lords, we were in a very different Situation. Our Negotiations, with *Spain* at least, were, thank God ! at an End. A War was actually declared, which was what all, but a very few amongst us, had long and ardently wished for ; and this Nation was in a Way, by which we have never failed doing ourselves Justice, when our Arms were prudently and vigorously conducted. From this Situation, I expected to see nothing, during this Session of Parliament, but Concord and Unanimity within Doors, and Joy and Acclamations without. I expected to hear nothing of past Measures, especially from those who could not be sensible of the Discontents their past Measures had occasioned. I expected nothing but a most cordial and unanimous Concurrence in proper Measures for enabling his Majesty to convince our Enemies, that we are better

Fighters than Negotiators ; and that tho' they had for many Years eluded the Force of our Rhetorick, they should be unable to elude, for as many Months, the Force of our Arms.

These, my Lords, I say, were my Expectations before the Opening of this Session of Parliament, and in these, I can assure your Lordships, I took great Delight.

A But those who had the Advising and Drawing up of this Speech now under our Consideration, have, I find, taken the very first Opportunity to disappoint me in my Hopes. Instead of applying to us in a modest, prudent, and conciliating Manner, for those Supplies that may be necessary for carrying on the War ; they have begun with throwing unjust and ill-grounded

B Reflections upon their Country, and upon all those that opposed the fruitless and destructive Measures they took for preventing it : Measures, which every one foresaw would be fruitless, before the Event shewed them to be so ; and Measures, which, in the mean Time, ruined the Trade, exhausted the Treasure, and exposed the Character of their Country.

C This, my Lords, to me looks as if they were more solicitous about justifying their *Pacifick Measures*, than they are about meritizing the Approbation of their Country as to their Warlike ; and this, I must say, is but a bad Omen of our future Success, if they be intrusted with the Conduct of the War ; for nothing can contribute more to the Justification of their late *Pacifick Schemes*, than an unfortunate Issue of the War we are now engaged in.

D I shall grant, my Lords, that an Advice or Caution against Divisions, Heats, and Animosities, has been often repeated to us in Speeches from the Throne ; and I do not at all wonder at it, for nothing is so like one Minister as another Minister. Ministers must always be, they ought to be, the Advisers of

E the King's Speech to his Parliament. As great a Man, and as good a Judge of our Constitution, as ever sat in this House, often gave it as his Opinion, that if Ministers were not, they ought to be the Advisers of every Speech the King makes from the Throne, and were answerable for every Expression made use of upon such Occasions ; therefore we are not to be surprized at the frequent Repetition we

F find of this Caution against Heats and Animosities ; for Ministers are apt to look upon every Opposition to their Measures as an Animosity ; and peevish Ministers often prevail with their Master to declare it so from the Throne ; but however this may serve the Peevishness of a Minister, it is of great Disadvantage to the Crown, because it engages the

G King in the Party with his Minister, which is very seldom either the honestest or most numerous Party in the Kingdom.

For this Reason, my Lords, I shall never think it very dutiful in a Minister to put

such a Caution in the Mouth of his Sovereign; and to put such a Caution or Advice into the King's Speech, at a Time when there neither is, nor has been, any Division, Heat, or Animosity, in the Kingdom, but such as have been occasioned by his Measures, I shall always think, in some Degree, criminal. In former Reigns, particularly in King William's Reign, there was some Reason for the Sovereign's giving a Caution to his Parliament against Divisions, Heats, and Animosities, because there were contending Parties in the Kingdom, which no way proceeded from any publick Measures pursued by the Ministers; but, in this Reign, there have been no such Parties; and yet, these Exhortations have been either made use of in this Reign, than in any former: I think they have been in the Speech at the Opening of every Session since the famous *Excise Scheme*, except the first Session of this Parliament, when the Complexion of the other House was not perhaps so well known as it was soon after.

Who was the Author or Drawer-up of the Speech now under our Consideration, I do not pretend to know; but in this House, my Lords, it is certain, we are not to say, the King was: We must suppose it was some of his Majesty's Ministers; and considering there is now the greatest Unanimity that, I believe, ever was in this Nation, considering there has not lately been any Division, Heat, or Animosity in the Kingdom, unless that Opposition be called so, which was made to their late pacifick Schemes, I cannot think it was right or modest in them, to put those Expressions in his Majesty's Speech, which are now found fault with. The noble Lord who spoke last but one says, they do not relate to the present Time, or to any particular Measure. I must beg Pardon to differ from him, tho' I am far from pretending to be so good a Judge of Language as he is. The Expressions both in the Speech, and in the Address proposed, plainly relate to the present Time. His Majesty says, *the unhappy Divisions amongst my Subjects, are the only Hopes of the Enemies to my Government*: Do not these Words, does not the Word, *are*, in particular, relate to the present Time? Again, with regard to the Address proposed, can we with any Propriety say, that nothing shall be wanting on our Part to heal up our Divisions, if there are none such now subsisting in the Kingdom? Can we say, that his Majesty had any Occasion to repeat his Admonitions, if our Divisions are all entirely healed up, and no such Thing as any Heats or Animosities in the Kingdom? As to the Measures, my Lords, which those Expressions were designed to relate to, I shall not pretend to determine; but I know of no publick Measure that has been lately opposed with any Sort of Warmth, but our Negotiations with Spain,

and the Convention, that was the unhappy Issue of those Negotiations; and I cannot think it right to say, that those who opposed these Measures, or indeed any Measures, were industrious Fomenters of Heats and Animosities, which is expressly said both in the Speech, and in what the noble Lord has proposed to be our Address by way of Answer to that Speech. In this Country, and by our Constitution, whoever thinks any publick Measure inconsistent with the Happiness of his Country, has a Right, nay, he is in Duty bound, to take every legal Method he can think of, to warn the People of their Danger: He is not, for that Reason, to be called a Fomenter of Heats and Animosities: A No Man will call him so, but a peevish assuming Minister, who, by a long Possession of too much Power, begins to think, that no Man in the Kingdom ought to oppose his good Will and Pleasure.

I must likewise observe, my Lords, that I differ from the same noble Lord in another Thing he was pleased to advance. I must think, that a Division between the People of one Side, and the Ministers of the other, is such a Division as may exist, even in this Country. I shall grant, that Ministers must always have a Party for their Support; but when that Party consists of Men that lift themselves in the Minister's Party, not because they approve his Measures, but because they receive his Pay, I cannot look upon them as any Part of the People: I must look upon them, as well as him, as the Enemies of the People; and the more of them he has in his Pay, the more criminal he must always be. If such a Minister and such a Party should ever happen, to our Misfortune, to exist in this Kingdom, they would, it is true, be the King's Subjects; but, like other Criminals, they would be such Subjects as ought to be hanged. I shall also grant that, whilst our Constitution remains entire, no such Minister can long stand his Ground in this Kingdom; because, if our Parliament should be allowed to sit, and if both Houses should continue as incorrupt as, I hope, they are at present, such a Minister would soon, by a Parliamentary Prosecution, be brought to what he deserved: But we know that some Ministers have found Means to govern, or rather to oppress the Nation for several Years, without any Parliament at all; and others have done the same Thing, by means of a pensionary Parliament. Therefore, such a Division may exist even in this Country, tho' it has never yet long existed: These over-grown Ministers have, generally hitherto, fallen a Sacrifice to their own Insolence and Ambition, soon after the Body of the People declared against them; but the Misfortune is, that the Sovereign has sometimes been overwhelmed in the Ruins.

I shall always, my Lords, be ready to judge charitably of other Mens Conduct, either in publick or private Life. I shall always be ready to suppose that Men act from right Principles, and that they at least think they are doing what is right; but this Rule can take place only in Cases of a disputable Nature. If a Highway-man or Pick-pocket should tell me, that he thought he did People's Service by robbing them or picking their Pockets, or by holding their Hands and preventing their being able to defend themselves, or secure the Villains that plundered them, I believe no Charity would oblige me to believe such a one to be an honest Man; and much less would Complaisance prevail with me, or a Reward induce me, to call him so. In publick Life, it is the same: When a Minister engages in no Measures but what may be supposed to be for the publick Good, Charity may induce me to believe, that he thinks he is doing right, tho' I differ from him in Opinion; and such a Minister, tho' his Measures be found fault with by some, yet he may depend upon having always a great Part of the People of his Side; but when a Minister engages in such Measures as evidently tend to the Ruin of his Country, there is no Room for Charity, one must believe him to be either an egregious Fool, or an arrant Knave.

This, my Lords, must be every honest Man's Way of judging, in Cases that admit of no Dispute; but, even in Cases that are disputable, tho' Charity obliges me to believe that Ministers think their Measures calculated for the Good of their Country, yet, if I think otherwise, I am obliged to oppose them, and may take such legal Methods as I think fit, to prevent or defeat them, without deserving to be called a Fomenter of Heats and Animosities. This was the Case, with regard to the late Convention: It was thought, by many, to be a most scandalous and destructive Treaty: I thought so as soon as I saw it: I think so still; for I do not think myself in the least concluded by the side-wind Approbation it met with. A Treaty's being approved by a Majority in Parliament, does not oblige the Minority to approve of it. Your Lordships have all a Right to shew that you disapprove of what meets with the Approbation of the Majority, and to leave a Testimony of your Disapprobation upon Record. Nay, even a future Parliament is not obliged to approve of what, perhaps, met with a very general Approbation in the preceding. The Treaty of Utrecht was approved of by a Majority in both Houses of Parliament. I remember, I then disapproved of it, and gave my Sentiments very freely in this House against it; and I remember the Reward I met with for so doing. That very Treaty was, in a future Parliament, so highly disapproved of, that some of those who had the chief Hand in

making it, were punished by Parliament; and others had, perhaps, been more severely punished, if they had not fled from Justice. This, my Lords, may perhaps be the Fate of the Convention in some future Parliament, tho' the Father of it seems now extremely fond of his Child; for I cannot but look upon his Majesty's Speech, and the Address now proposed, as a second Approbation of that Convention: I must think them designed as a new Triumph over those that opposed it, which can give no great Joy to the Nation, whatever it may do to the Father of the Convention; and therefore I wish that, in order to make his Country rejoice as well as himself, he would hereafter take as much care to triumph over those that broke it, as he now takes to triumph over those that opposed it.

This second Approbation, this new Triumph, I should have been easy about, I should have given myself no Trouble in opposing it, if I had not thought it an Encroachment upon the Constitution of my Country, and an Imposition upon my Royal Master. I think it a most dangerous Encroachment upon the Freedom of our Constitution, to have the legal Opposers of any publick Measure represented as Fomenters of Heats and Animosities, and Promoters of Divisions among the People. If they had been guilty of any illegal or violent Practices, there might have been some Room for giving them such hard Names; but, as no such Practices have been lately attempted, it must be allowed, by every one who understands our Constitution, to be a downright Misrepresentation; and it is a most dangerous Imposition upon our Sovereign, to make him the Author of such a Misrepresentation. I must likewise look upon it as a most dangerous Imposition, to make him believe, that there are unhappy Divisions, or any Divisions, amongst his Subjects, from whence his Enemies can have the least Room to hope for Success. I wish they may have no other Foundation to build their Hopes on; for, if they have not, they will soon see that they have nothing to hope for, but from his Majesty's Justice and Moderation.

Whatever Disputes our late pacifick Measures occasioned, and these were the only Disputes that can be said to have produced any Divisions, or any Thing like Heats or Animosities amongst us, they are all now happily ended by his Majesty's Declaration of War. That Declaration, my Lords, I must join with a noble Lord that spoke some Time ago, in applauding. I think it is extremely right: It is well and strong'y worded: The Facts are well chosen, and the Thoughts expressed with great Energy; but I must observe, that it is a Sort of Summary of the Arguments made use of last Year against the Convention, and Part of it, I believe, expressed almost in the

very Words of the Protest signed by many of your Lordships upon that Occasion, and entered upon the Journals of this House, as a Testimony to Posterity, of your having disapproved of what was then agreed to by a Majority. This Declaration, my Lords, has given full Satisfaction to every Man that was displeased with our former pacifick Measures; and surely, no Man can suppose, that it is disagreeable to those that advised it. It is therefore unjust to say, that there are any Divisions in this Nation: It was wrong to say so to his Majesty: It was more wrong to advise him to say so in his Speech from the Throne; and it would be still more wrong in us to confirm that Misrepresentation, by any Sort of Insinuation in our Address.

War, my Lords, was what the whole Nation, except a very few, long since desired. The Few that were against it have done what was their Duty: They have yielded to the general Voice of their Country; and the War is now declared. I have already said, and I most again say, that I thank God for it; for I think it a most providential War for this Nation. It could be nothing but Providence that could so harden the Hearts, or rather blind the Understandings of the Spaniards, as to make them refuse or neglect to perform, on their Part, a Treaty which was both honourable and advantageous for them, but most inglorious and destructive for us. To us it would have been most unlucky, if they had paid the Sum stipulated by that Treaty. D It was a Providence most propitious to this Nation, that put them into a Humour to hold us in such Contempt as to refuse making that Payment, which they had so solemnly promised; and as Providence has been favourable to us in forcing us into the War, I hope it will be as favourable to us in the Prosecution. It is hardly possible the Event should be unfortunate for this Nation, unless we render it so by our own Conduct; and as an uncorrupt and independent Parliament is the best Check upon a Minister's Conduct, I shall look on it as a bad Omen of our future Conduct, if we should, in this first Session, after the Commencement of the War, shew so much Complaisance to any Minister, as to confirm a Misrepresentation made by him to the Crown, especially as that Misrepresentation is of such a Nature, that if it be believed, it must render our Enemies more obstinate, and our Friends less ready to join in any Alliance with us.

L. AEmilius Paulius having thus ended his Discourse, C. Plinius Cæcilius again rose up and observed, That although an Objection had been made to some Part of the noble Lord's Proposition for an Address, and a long Debate had ensued, yet no Motion had been regularly made for an Amendment; therefore, he thought it his Duty to take Notice,

that if they insisted upon their Objection, it would be necessary to mention the Words to be left out, and to think of some Words to be put in their Stead; after which the Question he was to put, would be, Whether the Words proposed to be left out should stand Part of the Motion.

Upon this Q. Fabius Maximus stood up, and spoke to this Effect, viz,

My Lords,

THE Words objected to, have been already mentioned, and I do not think it necessary to propose any Words to be put in their Stead, till the Question be first put, B Whether or no they shall stand Part of the Motion. If that Question be carried in the Negative, it will then be Time enough to think, whether any, and what Words ought to be inserted in the Room of those left out. This, I think, my Lords, is the Parliamentary Way of Proceeding; and the Objections have been already so fully explained, and the Reasonableness of them so strongly enforced, that I think it unnecessary for me to add any Thing further upon the Subject. What the next Question may be, I shall not pretend to say, nor is it necessary I should. Perhaps it may be, To Address his Majesty to know who advised him to put into his Speech that Paragraph, which has been found fault with in this Debate. Even this would be Parliamentary; but whether your Lordships will think proper to go so far, I do not know. However, my Lords, to obviate the present seeming Difficulty, I shall make you the Motion for an Amendment, in Form, thus: That the Motion made by the noble Lord, should be amended by leaving out the Words, *That it gives us inexpressible Concern, &c.* as far as the Words, *That we are determined* —

L. Icilius stood up and spoke next, whose Speech, which is the last I shall give you upon this Subject, was in Substance thus:

My Lords,

THE noble Lord upon the Wool-Sack did not find fault with your Lordships Manner of Proceeding: He only mentioned what was proper to be done; and when there is any Defect or Omission as to the Form of your Proceedings, it is his Duty to acquaint you with it, and to inform you of what ought to be done. I shall grant, it is not absolutely necessary to mention before-hand, whether any, and what Words are to be put instead of those proposed to be left out; but it is usual, and even Candor seems to require it, because from thence, several Lords may determine how to vote upon the first Question.

As to the Words objected to, I cannot, for my

my Part, see the least Occasion for leaving them out: I even think it necessary to keep them in. I shall admit, my Lords, that the late Conduct of Spain, especially their Non-performance of what they promised by the late Convention, has rendered us unanimous for War. But War or no War, was not the only Dispute or Division amongst us. There have been many others, some of which still subsist; and whatever there may be within Doors, I am certain there are still great Heats and Animosities without. Are there not seditious Libels now printed and dispersed? Are there not malicious Stories spread against the Government daily? Sometimes it is said, That we are not yet in earnest as to the War: At other Times it is said, That, notwithstanding our Declaration of War, we dare not strike a Stroke. Many such false and scandalous Opinions are with great Industry propagated. All the Measures of our Government are misrepresented to this very Day. Even the Proceedings of this House are libelled, not only in Conversation, but in Print. Is not every Lord sensible of this? Do not your Lordships all know it? And in such Circumstances, was it not extremely proper for his Majesty to caution us against Divisions, Heats, and Animosities? Will it not be necessary for us to declare in our Address, That we shall endeavour to avoid adding Fuel to the Heats and Animosities without Doors, by our Disputes and Divisions within?

[This JOURNAL to be continued in our next.]

T. Quintius, in the Character of the Right Honourable the Lord Talbot.

C. Claudius Nero, in the Character of the Right Hon. the Earl of Winchelsea and Nottingham. (See p. 219.)

Craftsman, May 24. № 725.

THE HIERARCHY OF A PRINTING-OFFICE.

THE first Printing-Press in England was set up in a Chapel in Westminster-Abbey, or some other religious House; from whence that Part of the House, which is assign'd for Printing, hath been ever since call'd a Chapel, and constituted in an ecclesiastical Manner, with divers Rites and Ceremonies.

When a Printer first sets up, if it is an House that was never used for Printing before, the Part design'd for that Purpose is *consecrated*, which is perform'd by the senior Freeman the Master employs, who is the Father or Dean of the Chapel; and the chief Ceremony is drinking Succels to the Master, sprinkling the Walls with strong Beer, and singing the Cuz's Anthem; at the Conclusion of which there is a Supper given by the Master.

All the Workmen are call'd Chapellonians, who are obliged to submit to certain Laws, all of which are calculated for the Good of

the whole Body, and for the well-carrying on of the Master's Business. To the Breach of these Laws is annex'd a Penality, which an obstinate Member sometimes refuses to pay; upon which it is left to the Majority of the Chapel, in Convocation assembled, whether he shall be continued any longer a Chapellonian; and if his Sentence is to be discontinued, he is then declared a Brimstone; that is, an excommunicated Person, and deprived of a 'l Share of the Money given by Gentlemen, Authors, Booksellers and others, to make them drink, especially that great annual Solemnity, commonly call'd the Way-Goose Feast.

Whilst he continues in this State, he can have no Redress for any Mischief that is done him; so that, in a short Time, he is glad to pay the Penalty, which he had incur'd, and a discretionary Fine besides, to reconcile himself to the Chapel.

When a Boy is to be bound Apprentice, before he is admitted a Chapellonian, it is necessary for him to be made a Cuz, or Deacon; in the Performance of which there are a great many Ceremonies. The Chapellonians walk three Times round the Room, their right Arms being put thro' the Lappets of their Coats; the Boy who is to be made a Cuz, carrying a wooden Sword before them. Then the Boy kneels, and the Father of the Chapel, after exhorting him to be observant of his Business, and not to betray the Secrets of the Workmen, squeezes a Spunge of strong Beer over his Head, and gives him a Title, which

is generally that of Duke of some Place of the least Reputation near which he lives, or did live before; such as those of Rag-Fair, Thieving-Lane, Puddle-Dock, Pissing-Alley, and the like. This being done, the Father of the Chapel gives the Boy an Account of the Safety he will enjoy by being made a Cuz; which is, that whatever Accident may happen to him, no ill Consequence will attend it, such as the Falling from an House, or into the Thames, &c.

Whilst the Boy is upon his Knees, all the Chapellonians, with their right Arms put thro' the Lappets of their Coats, as before, walk round him, singing the Cuz's Anthem, which is done by adding all the Vowels to the Consonants in the following Manner.

F. Ba ba; Be be; Bi bi; Ba-be-bi; Bo bo; Ba-be-bi-bo; Bu bu; Ba-be-bi-bo-bu: And so thro' the rest of the Consonants.

There are several other Solemnities of the same Kind, belonging to a Printing-Chapel; but these are sufficient to shew the sacred Institution of it, and the Reverence that is due to it. Yet how often have its Walls been profaned, and its Immunities violated, with Impunity, by a Parcel of Ruffians, who have made no Scruple to break open the *Sanctum Sanctorum* by mere Force and Violence, to destroy the sacred Utensils, and to drag away

the Priests officiating at their Altars, even with Pistols cock'd at their Heads?

I am very far from disputing the Authority of the *Lay-Power* over *ecclesiastical Persons*: But, if the *Chapellonians* should continue to be persecuted and harrass'd, as they have lately been, it may be truly said, *That the CHAPEL itself is in Danger.*

There seems, indeed, to be a Sort of *Protestant Inquisition* erected against the *Press*, under the Direction of an *Inquisitor General*, with a Multitude of *mercenary Familiars*; and as the most cruel *Inquisitors* in *Spain* and *Portugal* are supposed to be *Jews, Atheists, or Infidels*, so our *Protestant Inquisitors* are known to be *false Brethren, and Enemies to all Liberty*. The Business of our *Inquisitor General*, like those abroad, is first of all to retain a competent Number of *Informers*, suborn *Evidence*, and then prosecute, *ex Virtute Officii*, without giving the Person accused any Opportunity of *justifying* what he hath written, according to the laudable Doctrines of the *Star-Chamber*; but to lay it down as an invariable Maxim, that exposing the most notorious Facts may be a *Libel*; that is, every Thing is a *Libel*, whether true or false, which may be construed by *Innuendo* to bear the least Reflection upon any *Man, or Body of Men*, in publick Employments.

Of *Familiars* there are several different Kinds, such as *Counsellors, Sollicitors, Messengers, Bum-Messengers*, and a whole Tribe of *Informers and Witnesses*.

There is likewise another Sort of *Familiars*; such as *Hackney Scribblers, Printers, and Publishers*, who are always ready to save themselves by giving *Evidence* against the *Author*. The most eminent scribbling *Familiars* at present, are *Ralph Freeman, Esq; commonly called the Bastard Organist, and Pseudo Sydney*.

Common-Sense, May 31. N^o 173.

To the Author of COMMON-SENSE.

S I R,

I Am a *Man of little Ceremony*, and must take the Freedom to tell you, that you are a *Villain, a Rascal, and a Liar, and a Son of a Wh—*; I wear no Cockade, Sir; but I have such to stand by me as do. I will prove what I say, Sir, that you are a *Liar, and an impudent Traducer of our most excellent M—r.*

You say, Sir, that the Nation is dissatisfied with the Conduct of a certain great Person employ'd, and who makes so shining a Figure in State Affairs. Now first I say, Sir, what of that, Sir? What of that? Are we bound to take Notice of the *Mob*, or their fine *Thoughts*?

But then, Sir, I affirm that you lie; for the Nation is on our Side. The Majority of the Nation is the Nation, and this Majority I shall prove to be with us.

I scorn to take Advantage by saying, that we have a Majority in the most critical Place: And yet I don't care; make your best of it: I do say so. There's a Majority for us upon the whole.

But where is the Majority that you falsely brag of? — Let us suppose, that in *Great Britain* there are 12 Millions of Souls. Dare you say, that you have one Soul under the Age of 12? No; they are silent, and consequently give Consent to what we do. As I take it, the Number of Persons under that Age surpasses that of those that are older. There's another plain Majority.

Well, for once I will count Noses with you, to convince the World, and, if possible, yourself, that you are an impudent lying Rogue, Villain, Rascal, Son of a W——, &c. &c. &c.

You cannot deny us 350 Gentlemen, or of higher Degree. These, you feel, we have. Now call their Estates, at an Average, 1000*l.* *per Annum* each. Is that too much?

It is no Stretch, I am sure, to say, that on an Estate of 1000*l.* Yearly Rent there should be ten Tenants, who will take their Master's Word for the *Justification* of their *Conduct*, as in Duty they are bound to do.

Each of these Tenants must have a Family; but I shall only reckon that, one with another, they have each a Son grown up; and one married Servant, whose Son may also be supposed to be of *Man's Estate*.

To such Gentleman I would allow a Servant for each Tenant; but as it is to be considered that they live for the most Part in Town, which is a polite Place, and that they have more Money to spend than what arises from their Estates, which you would laugh, if I should compute at less than 350,000*l.* Yearly; I cannot but double the Numbers of their Servants; and as most of their Servants make Money as fast as their Masters spend it, I might also allow a Servant to each, but shall content myself with allowing each a Son.

Their Tradesmen must be a very numerous Body, who will be obsequious for the Honour of their Custom, and that their courtly Behaviour may some Time or other procure Payment of their Bills. To each of these I allot a Son, and one obliging Journeyman. The Tradesmen, at a moderate Rate of ten to each Gentleman, amount to so scandalously small a Number as but 7000, with double that Number of Sons and Servants.

The Civil List we shall only estimate at 5000 Men, tho' you know it is more. To each may be allow'd a Son, a Servant, and a Servant's Son, besides one Creditor (it is too low) with a Son and a Journeyman to each.

As for the Militia, we have at present an Establishment for 18,000 Men; you see I don't reckon about 18,000 more, rais'd with-

in this last Year; but then there are the Pensioners of *Cheflea-College* without and within, which amount to 4000 more. Giving to each common Sentinel, Trooper, and Dragoon, only six Wives (which is unconscionably little) we cannot value their Offspring, including acknowledg'd Bastards, at less than two to each Father. I will admit that the common Men will have no great Influence over their Creditors, but those of the Officers cannot well be less with their Sons and Servants than 10,000.

Next, we come to the Army of Tax-gatherers, who may be modestly computed to amount to 10,000 Men, with a Son and a Servant to each. Every one has his Province, and his faithful Slaves, consisting of those whom he allows, as every Body believes, to cheat the Crown, and such as he can detect when he will. I shall only ask four to each Man, in Fear or Favour, and these with their Sons and Servants will amount to 90,000 grown Men.

But as Salaries are sometimes too large for the humble Desires of the Incumbents, this gives Birth to a Sort of Animal called a Rider, who (not to aggravate Matters) we shall only say are in equal Number to the others. These then must be added, with their Sons and Servants. It is true, many are too low to keep Servants; but those that are higher keep the more, which makes up the Average.

And again, there is the formidable Host of Expectants. I cannot reckon a Man to be an Expectant of an Office, unless he has an actual Promise for it: Allowing but three Promises of each Place (and whoever knows the World, will agree to the Computation) this Tribe will be found to consist of 30,000 good Men and true, with 60,000 more of Sons and Servants.

Next, let us survey the modern Converts to Whiggism, the Papists in *Great Britain*. These (abstracting from Women and Children) are about 200,000; and let me suppose then, one with another, each Man can persuade a Protestant Tenant or Dependant, they and their Sons and Servants, as before, will amount to 800,000 Men in all. That the Papists are with us to a Man, appear'd a few Years ago; and to them may be added about 100 Protestant Jacobites, who constantly pray for the M—r next to some Body else; their Sons, Servants, and Influence, may make them up a round thousand Men.

The Dissenters must not be forgotten. Sons, Servants, and Servants Sons included, let us call them 200,000 Men.

Dr. Codex's black Squadron come next, G whose Assistance was most seasonable and cordial at a remarkable Occasion, a few Years ago. Say they are but 5000, with 5000 more of Grave-diggers, Parish-Clerks, and Sextons; 5000 Expectants, and, to speak

within Bounds, four Sots to each Man: All this runs very high.

The Battalion of Informers is likewise a numerous Corps. I shall call them only 2000, besides Sons, without Servants; tho' it is well known some of them keep Servants, and Coaches too: Each of these may well be stil'd a Decurion or Commander of ten, over whom he holds the Rod.

The Articles of Pardons and *Noli-prosequi's* for Revenue Offences, and Penalties, may fetch a Body of about 20,000 Men more.

Country Post-Masters and Keepers of Exercise Offices are scarcely worth mentioning. But Spies, secret Service-Men, Gazetteers, and Pensioners at large, being added to them, with Sons and Servants, may make up at least 10,000 in all.

The last Article I shall mention, is that of Directors, Stock-jobbers, and Exchange-Brokers. These I shall but reckon at 500, and their Sons at as much: But here I have no Room for an Average; because these Gains being unmeasurable, and their Estates over-grown, I cannot in Conscience allow fewer Servants, Tenants, and Retainers to each Man, than 100, including Sons, Under-Servants, &c. which will figure pretty well in an Article. The Dependents of the great Companies themselves I shall not state at above—.

And thus I have gone thro' the Account, except one Article, of the Navy and Shipping of *England*, where, I own, we have but slender Footing; and another of the Sturdy Beggars, who surely must be inconsiderable.

The Account then stands thus:
 To Number of Souls in *Great Britain* 12000000
 Of which Children 6000000
 And of the Remainder, Women 3000000

Total of grown Men 3000000
 Of which we have, according to the Calculations above-mentioned,

By the 350 Gentlemen, &c.	43850
By the Civil List,	35000
By the Army in Red,	76000
By the Army of Publicans, Riders, and Expectants,	240000
By Papists and their Influence,	800000
By Protestant Jacobites,	1000
By Dissenters,	200000
By the Army in Black,	35000
By Informers,	22000
By Penalties and Offences,	30000
By Spies, Pensioners, Post-Masters, Gazetteers, &c.	10000
By Directors, Stock-jobbers, and Exchange Brokers,	50200
By Dependents on the great Companies	*****

In all	1533050
Remains in the Opposition only	1466950
Balance on our Side	66100

If this undeniably Majority makes you blush, I have my End. If not, I have bid you Defiance and thrown down my Gage. Take it up if you dare.

Yours, as you behave,
PETER PLUNDER.

Craftsman, May 31. N° 726.

Mr. D'Anvers,

WE were told some Time ago, by a certain Hon. Gentleman, in a certain publick Assembly, that notwithstanding all the Opposition and Attempts of his Adversaries, he should have the making of another Convention.

If we may give any Credit to those authentick Historians, the *Daily Advertiser*, and the *Daily Gazetteer*, this desirable Work is already in great Forwardness, and nothing seems wanting to compleat it but the Choice of proper *Mediators*; for you must consider, Mr. D'Anvers, that tho' we had the Dexterity and Address to obtain the *last* Convention by the Negotiation of our own incomparable *Ministers*, without any Assistance from our Allies; yet Matters being now brought to Extremities between *Great Britain* and *Spain*, the nice Punctilio of the latter will oblige us to make use of *Mediation*.—This was very plainly insinuated by the *ministerial Advocates* as soon as the War was proclaim'd, and before it was known that any Blow had been struck.—At first, they assur'd us that *Cardinal Fleury*, the present great Arbiter of *Europe*, would emp'oy his good Offices for accomodating our Difference with *Spain*; but several wrong-headed People having rais'd a great Out-cry against any *Mediation of France*, the King of *Portugal* was next pitch'd upon for that Purpose, as a less obnoxious Prince; and yet even this Proposal, was not much better relish'd by the *Male-contents*; because his *Portuguese* Majesty happens to be pretty nearly ally'd to the King of *Spain*, and therefore could not be look'd upon as an impartial *Mediator*. Our Eyes were next turn'd upon the Courts of *Prussia* and *Denmark*, and afterwards upon his *Imperial Majesty*, the *Czarina*, and the *States General*; to which, it was thought, no reasonable Objection could be made, four of these Powers being good *Protestants*, and the other our old natural *Ally*.—But nothing will satisfy these bloody-minded *Patriots*, except Fire, and Sword, and Slaughter; nor will they consent to any *Mediators*, but such rag'd old Tars as *Vernon*, *Haddock*, and *Ogle*, who may behave themselves well enough upon their own boisterous Element, but would I fear make but indifferent *Peace-makers*.

Nay, if I don't mistake, some of these *Desperados* have carry'd their Revenge to such an implacable Height, as to recommend *Oliver Cromwell's* Inscription upon his Can-

non, viz. *Open thou our Lips, and our Mouth shall shew forth thy Praise*.

How christian, candid, and humane, in Comparison to all this outrageous Malice, hath been the *Conduct* of the *ministerial Writers*! They have prov'd themselves to be generous *Enemies*, at least, and left no Stone unturn'd to put a Stop to the further Effusion of Blood, lest a little more Success, on *our Side*, should widen the Breach, and render a friendly Accommodation impracticable.—I make no Doubt that their Brains are still indefatigably at Work upon the same glorious Scheme, and that they will even, in Case of Necessity, apply to the Courts of *Constantinople* and *Morocco* for Help, rather than not bring it to Perfection.

I am credibly inform'd, that these ingenious *Pen-Statesmen* have already form'd a *Plan of Pacification*, which was intended to be publish'd in the *Gazetteer*, but happen'd to drop out of Mr. Freeman's Pocket, as he was going into *Downing-street*, and unluckily fell into bad Hands.—This *Plan* is said to consist, amongst other curious Particulars, of the following Heads.

1st, That there shall be an *Armistice*, or *Cessation of Hostilities*, between the two Crowns, till the next general *Election* is over.

2^{dly}, That during this *Suspension of Arms*, no Pains shall be spared, either by *Mediation* or otherwise, to obtain another *Convention*, upon the *Model* of the former, for adjusting all our Differences in an amicable Manner.

3^{rdly}, If the Court of *Spain* should insist upon our putting *Porto Bello*, with all its *Castles* and *Fortifications*, in *Statu quo*, or upon an Equivalent in Money for that Service, as well as the Restitution of their Ships, particularly, the *St. Joseph*, and the *Princess*; in such Case, they ought certainly to be obliged to pay us a liquidated Sum of 20 or 30,000^{l.} towards repairing all our *Damages*, for several Years past, and defraying the *Expenses* of the present *War*.

4^{thly}, That immediately after the Signing of this *Convention*, positive Orders shall be sent to recal all our *Ships of War* upon the Coasts of *Old and New Spain*; and that a Commission shall be appointed to enquire into the *Conduct* of *Admiral Vernon*, and the Officers under his Command.

At the Bottom of this Paper, Mr. Freeman gives his *Patron* a modest Hint, that if his Project meets with *Approval*, and there should remain any little Disputes about *Limits*, either by *Sea* or *Land*, to be adjusted by *Commissionaries* or *Plenipotentiaries*, no Man in England is better qualified for such an Employment than himself, having been born a *Son of Harmony*, and bred up an *Enemy to Discord*, as he lately assur'd the *Publick*. (See p. 228.) If I may presume to meddle in such arduous Affairs of State, I would humbly recommend

the

the Hon. Mr. Sydney, and the important Mr. Samuel Export Merchant, to be join'd with the illustrious Mr. Freeman in this Commission, having long been his Coadjutors in the Cause of ministerial Government, and distinguish'd themselves by the same wonderful Abilities, and unspotted Integrity.

These Gentlemen will certainly be very acceptable to the Court of Spain, having for many Years justify'd all their Depredations, and laid the whole Blame of the War upon their own Countrymen, who insolently disputed the Spanish Empire in the American Seas.

A Yet notwithstanding all this, I will venture to prophesy, that they will do the Nation full as much Service, in 6 or 7 Years, as their immortal Predecessors; and perhaps might be induced to make some Abatement in their Salaries, for the Sake of their Country, in these expensive and calamitous Times.

B What a Blessing is it to a *M—r*, to have Gentlemen in his Service of such extensive Abilities, who are not only qualify'd to write daily Panegyrics on his Measures, and Invectives against all that presume to oppose him, but likewise to form Expedients, and put them in Execution? In this triple Capacity of Writers, Projectors, and Negotiators, they very much resemble the celebrated *Dans Scotti*, of whom it is reported that he often used to read, write, and dictate, at the same individual Point of Time.

C D I suppose, Mr. D'Anvers, that the Subject of this Letter will not prove very agreeable to you; because it contains a just Eulogium upon 3 worthy Gentlemen, who have long employ'd their Pens in Vindication of our excellent *M—r*, and are now endeavouring to extricate him out of a *War*, which the Malecontents brought upon him, and of which no Body can foresee the Consequences, if it should be much longer pursu'd with *Vigour* and *Resolution*. But let me tell you, *Sir*, that however you may happen to differ from these Gentlemen, you ought to carry on the Controversy with Decency, and treat them like Scholars and Philosophers, as old 'Squire Bickstaff did Doctor Partridge, the famous Almanack-Maker, and not turn Things of a serious Nature into *Ridicule*. You see that Mr. Freeman is perpetually complaining of *you* and *Common-Sense*, upon that Account, and I must needs say with too much Reason; for it is certainly foul Play to attack a Man with *Weapons*, which he does not pretend to understand. But he hath made you several Overtures, that if you will but engage him fairly, without any Dashes of *Wit* or *Raillery*, he is ready to mount the Stage, and fight a Bout or two with you at *Blunts*; for as to *sharp Swords* and *no Favour*, they are unbecoming of Gentlemen, and fit only for common Prize-Fighters.—Pray, Mr. D'Anvers, condescend to have one Trial of Skill with him, in his own

Way, which will give him some Credit with his Patron, and perhaps with the *Publck*, whether he should happen to be defeated or not.

E I am, Sir, &c.

Universal Spectator. N° 610.

Philaethes makes several Observations on *human Life*. We shall give our Readers some of them, as follows.

M A N is become a strange Contradiction to himself; he wou'd have others obey him, yet will not obey that Power who gave him Being; he will lose none of his Authority; he is imperious to his Wife, beats his Children, is angry with his Servants, strict with his Neighbours, revenges all Affronts to Extremity, but forgets all the while that he is *Man*, and is more in Arrears to the *Supreme Being* that is so very patient with him, than they are to him, with whom he is so strict and impatient.

The Unhappiness which a great Part of Mankind complain of, they bring upon themselves for want of due Consideration; for our second Thoughts rarely agree with our first, which pass not without a considerable Retrenchment and Correction; and yet that sensible Warning is too frequently not Precaution enough for our future Conduct: We may well say then, our Infelicity is chiefly occasion'd by ourselves, since there is nothing we do that we shou'd not do, but we know it, and yet do it.

When the Actions of a Neighbour are upon the Stage, we can have all our Wits about us, and find out every Failure and Infirmitie; but are without Feeling, or have but very little Sense of our own.

E Much of this arises from *Ill-Nature*, as well as from an inordinate Value of ourselves: We love blaming the Unhappy, rather than relieving or pitying them. On such Occasions some shew their *Malice*, and are witty on their *Misfortunes*; others their Judgment, by sage Reflexions on their Conduct; but few their *Charity*: They only have a Right to censure, who have a Heart to assist; the rest is *Cruelty*, and not *Justice*.

A Husband and Wife, who love and value one another, shew their Children and Servants that they shou'd do so too: Others visibly lose their Authority in their Families by their Contempt of one another, and teach their Children to be unnatural by their own Example.

To conduct himself thro' the Affairs of the World with tolerable Decency and Advantage, a Man must be *reserv'd*, but not *shar*; *grave*, but not *formal*; *bold*, but not *rash*; *bumble*, but not *servile*; *patient*, not *insensible*; *constant*, not *obstinate*; *cheerful*, not *light*; rather *sweet* than *familiar*; *familiar*, than *intimate*; and *intimate*

intimate with very few, and upon very good Grounds: Mindful to return Civilities, and grateful for Favours receiv'd.

Believe nothing against another but upon good Authority; nor report what may hurt another, unless it be a greater Hurt to others to conceal it.

It is wise not to seek a Secret, and honest not to reveal it.

Let your Conversation and Actions be founded on Propriety: Some are witty, kind, cold, angry, easy, flippant, jealous, careless, cautious, confident, close, open, but all in the wrong Place.

To be happy, bring your Mind to your Condition, and have an Indifference for more than what is sufficient: The Generality of Mankind are the worse for their Plenty; the Voluptuous consumes it, the Miser hides it; 'tis the good Man that uses it, and uses it to good Purpose: But such are hardly found among the Prosperous.

Amuse not yourself with the numerous Opinions Men now have about Religion, nor value yourself upon verbal Orthodoxy, Philosophy, or Skill in Tongues, and Knowledge of the Fathers; but rejoice in this. *That thou servest God, that is the Lord, who exerciseth Loving-kindness and Judgment and Righteousness in the Earth.*

Common-Sense, June 7. N° 174.

This Paper contains some farther Extracts from The Institution of a Prince, &c. (See p. 70.) among which are the following.

PRINCES rarely come at Truth, because they do not seek it with Care. Those about them conspire to hide it from them, because their Interest lies in their Mistakes, and they are combined with those who find their Profit in blinding their Eyes; or that they are afraid of trusting a Secret to his Prudence, upon which they cannot rely;—these last Considerations restrain the Tongues of Men of Sense. Thus Princes rarely hear any Thing profitable, right, or salutary: All the Ideas which are presented to them are false, Good and Evil change their Names in their Presence; the most seducing Discourses are fortified with the most seducing Examples; all the Avenues leading to Truth are shut up, the Prince contributes to deceiving himself, and others are obliged to leave him in his Error.

How should a Prince, who consults none but his Ministers and Courtiers, avoid those Snares laid for him, by a Kind of Conspiracy of those in the first Employments, who are obliged to keep Terms with one another, in order to conceal from him what he ought to know? In Spight of their private Jealousies, their secret Hatreds, and little Interest, they will unite to engross Affairs, and confine all

Favours to themselves; so that they keep him a Kind of Prisoner within that narrow Circle where they have enclosed him.

A **A Man of Honour** might, perhaps, be able to break this Plot against the Liberty of his Master; but Princes, whose Heads are full of nothing but high Ideas of their own Majesty, fancy it is below them to make Friendships among their own Subjects: They require Respect, and will dispense with every Thing else. They little think how much they lose by being intrench'd within their Grandeur, and cut off from all Communication with the rest of Mankind. They sometimes do not know that they want Friends; the Pomp which surrounds them covers this secret Want:

B They take those for their Friends who are only so to their Fortune; and they fancy themselves to be the Object of that Crowd of Sycophants about them, who love nothing but themselves, who can adore Grandeur while they despise the Man that wears it. Those Princes who have best understood the Nature of true Grandeur, have known that nothing is of so much Value as the Possession of a true Friend, sincere when he commands, respectful when he finds Fault, — the same under all Changes.

Craftsman, June 7. N° 727.

Mr. D'Anvers,

D I AM very much pleased to find that the Contents of my Letter, dated May 17, have been corroborated and even authenticated by the Daily Advertiser of May 29, which runs in the following Terms.

E An Extract of a Letter from the Hague.

“ Some People here pretend to be certain of having discover'd the Reason that hath hitherto hinder'd the Court of France from declaring itself on the Side of Spain, which they say is, because it hath been constantly in Expectation of the Conclusion of a certain Alliance, which it hath been negotiating a considerable Time, and hath not yet been able to succeed in.—On the other Hand, if Credit may be given to Letters from London, the principal Motive, which induced his Britannick Majesty to make a Tour at this Time into Germany is the Conclusion of an important Alliance, which is actually upon the Tapis, that may counterbalance the Power of the House of Bourbon. The most earnest Endeavours have for some Time past been used to effect this great Work at Berlin and Dresden. It is known, upon the whole, that considerable Offers have been made to the King of Prussia, with Regard to his Pretensions upon the Succession to Juliers and Bergue; and, at the same Time, Assurance given, that such Care shall be taken to satisfy the Claim of the House of Saxony, as shall prevent the kindling a War in

In the Empire. It is manifest that these Propositions are not disagreeable to the two Houses; both which seem to be well pleased that the Interest of the King of Great Britain requires him to unite strictly with them; into which Union that of Hesse-Cassel will easily be brought. If this Alliance should be concluded, there would not be so absolute a Necessity for making a dearer Purchase of the Friendship of the King of Denmark, whom it was necessary at one Time to prevent from augmenting the Power of France in the North. The same Letters add, that another Cause of his Britannick Majesty's visiting his German Dominions is to forward, and, as he will be nearer, the more conveniently put the last Hand to the Alliance concluded with Russia."

This I say, Mr. D'Anvers, is exactly conformable to what I said in my Letter to you of May 17, concerning the Reasons of his Majesty's Journey to Hanover, the principal of which I conjectured, and I find very justly, was to reunite the grand Alliance, in order to counterbalance the Power of the House of Bourbon, and adjust the Differences at present subsisting in the North, which Nothing can facilitate so much as his Majesty's personal Residence in Germany this Summer, where he will be nearer, as the *Advertiser* sagaciously observes, to put a finishing Hand to that desirable Work.

I was in Hopes, indeed, that his Majesty would have been able to reach Germany before the Death of the late King of Prussia, who might certainly have been prevail'd upon to enter into this Alliance, by supporting his Pretensions to the Dutchies of Juliers and Bergue; but the greatest Monarch in the Universe hath it not in his Power to command the Winds and Tides, which deprived his Majesty of that favourable Opportunity. However, we have no Reason to doubt that the present King of Prussia is in the same amicable Disposition towards us, and will come into any reasonable Measures for supporting the Interest of his Royal Uncle against all his Enemies.—Hopes are likewise given us that the King of Poland, as Elector of Saxony, will concur in this Scheme; and we may surely depend upon the House of Hesse-Cassel for their Assistance, notwithstanding the present Alliance between the Courts of France and Sweden.

But I cannot possibly guess at the *Advertiser's* Reason for insinuating, that we lately purchased the Friendship of the King of Denmark at too dear a Rate. As we were then left, in a Manner, without any Ally, how could we pay too dear for one? I remember the Time, when the Friendship of Denmark was esteem'd so valuable to us, that we generally paid a considerable Sum to make up the Deficiency of a French Subsidy to that Crown, occasion'd by some Disputes between those two

Courts, concerning the Difference of Danish and Hamburg Money, which we made up ourselves, in order to prevent the bad Consequences of any Misunderstanding between them. But our Ministers have at length had the Dexterity to out-wit the Cardinal, notwithstanding all his boasted Skill in Politicks, and secured the Court of Denmark entirely on our Side; tho' I hope upon much less expensive Terms than the ministerial Writers seem to suggest. If they should have the same Success in their Negotiations with his Imperial Majesty, the Czarina, the King of Poland, the King of Prussia and the States General, we may bid Defiance to the whole Power of the House of Bourbon put together.

B But I am glad to find that Affairs are likely to take another Turn; and that, instead of a bloody War, several Powers of Europe are employing their good Offices to procure us a pacific Accommodation.—You, Mr. D'Anvers, seem averse to any such healing Measures; and I must confess, I cannot approve of the Project form'd by your Correspondent of last Saturday; because I think the Court of Spain ought to make us a little more Recompence for all our Losses, and Depredations, as well as the Insults, and Barbarities committed against us, than the Sum of 20 or 30,000*l.* Neither can I agree to the proposed Stipulation for our being at any Expence in putting Porto-Bello, with all its Castles and Fortifications, in *statu quo*, and restoring it in that Condition to the Spaniards; for I humbly apprehend, that our Losses of Ships, Officers, Seamen, Ammunition, and Provisions before Porto-Bello, under the Command of the late unfortunate Admiral Hosier, did at least compensate for the Demolition of that Place by Admiral Vernon.

Upon the whole, if there should be any Foundation for all these continued Rumours of an approaching Peace, it must be supposed that Notice of it hath been sent to our victorious Admiral, with Instructions not to commit any farther Hostilities upon the Spaniards in the West-Indies, which can have no other Effect than wasting Powder and Ball to no Purpose, and obstructing the proposed Accommodation; for all the ministerial Writers agree, that the Court of Spain will never consent to any Negotiation of Peace, without a preliminary Article for restoring all the Possessions, we have already taken, or may hereafter take from them; so that the more Conquests we obtain, the worse will be our Condition. You may, perhaps, look upon this as an odd Way of Reasoning, and quote some recent Examples to the contrary; particularly the Acquisition of Lorraine by France, and of the two Sicilies by another Branch of the House of Bourbon. But why should we imitate those, whose Ambition we condemn? The Design of all Wars is to obtain Peace, as the Court-Writers have often

often very justly observed; and therefore the sooner we set about it, and the more reasonable we are in our Demands, so much the better. Our bitterest Enemies cannot help loving us for our Moderation, and *Love* is certainly a more lasting Cement than *Fear*.

I am, Sir, &c.

To the AUTHOR of the LONDON MAGAZINE.

Fleet-Ditch, Rainbow Coffee-House, June 11,
1740.

SIR,

I THINK it is universally allow'd, that it is the Interest of every Nation, to encourage Marriage amongst its Inhabitants; and, we are told of a wise People in *Greece*, who had so great an Opinion of the Advantages of it, and of the Necessity of encouraging it, that their young Virgins were ordered to go abroad in Garments full of Slits and Openings, to give the young Men an Opportunity of discovering the Shape and Beauty of their Limbs, that so they might be the sooner tempted to desire them in Marriage, tho' after Matrimony they were enjoined the utmost Decency and Gravity of Garb. Now, Sir, you cannot but be sensible that Matrimony, at present, is at a very low Ebb in *England*, and that amongst too many young Gentlemen of Fortune, it is as unfashionable to be married, as it is, not to keep a Mistress. What Cause is to be assign'd for it, I will not pretend to say; but this I dare venture to insist upon, that it is not owing to the Want of a sufficient Discovery of our young Ladies Charms; for what with the Magnitude of their Hoops, and the Use of their Handkerchiefs, they discover as much as Men can in Conscience desire, unless they would have them shew all they have. I might here say a great deal in Praise of the present fashionable Hoops, and of their great Use in discovering the Limb: An Instance hereof I lately saw in *St. James's Park*, where two young Ladies walking together Arm in Arm in close Conversation, with their Hoops pressing hard on one Side against each other, the other Sides at the same Time flew up very high, to the great Information of the Spectators, while the poor young Ladies, to be sure, knew nothing of the Matter. But I must not forget that the Design of my Letter is to tell you, that since Marriage is now at so low an Ebb, I should think you would do great Service to the Publick, if you set up an Office of Intelligence for Marriage, where young Women might be informed where to find young Men disposed to marry, and where young Men might meet with the like Information about young Women. I need not dwell on the Usefulness of such an Office, or shew how many Matches it will, in all Probability, speedily produce, and how

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many Parties will, by these Means, be brought together, who would, perhaps, otherwise have for ever continued useless in their Generations. The greatest Objection you can have to such a Scheme, will, I presume, be the great Trouble it must occasion you; but I hope this will not discourage you from the

A Undertaking: Try the Experiment, if you find Business increase too fast upon you, you may erect inferior Offices to yours; and I dare say, the Gratitude of your Correspondents will be such, that you will have no Cause to repent of your Care of them. Suppose you were to erect in some publick Place, a large bleeding Heart, as the Guardian did his Lion, for the Reception of your Correspondents Letters, would not that be very proper? But I leave the Management of the whole Affair to yourself, you will know better how to transact it than I can direct you. I had almost forgot to tell you, that I myself want a Wife, but when your Heart is erected, I will be more explicit. In the mean Time I am,

SIR,

Your constant Reader and Admirer,
RALPH UNION.

If Marriage is at so low an Ebb, as our Correspondent says, and we fear it is, and if it is become so unfashionable to marry, we doubt, if such an Office were set up, instead of having too much Business, we should have too little.

Common Sense, June 14. N^o 175.

To the Author of COMMON SENSE.

SIR,

I HAVE often wonder'd how Men that pretend to pass for good Husbands, good Fathers, and good Neighbours, should become the Tools of a wicked Minister: I think it cannot be accounted for; but either by a corrupt Heart, or the Want of Common Sense.

While I was thinking of this, I met with a Letter, written by Sir Richard Steele to the Lord Treasurer Oxford, which I here send you, and beg you will publish it, for the Use of our present Set of Placemen.

To the Right Hon. the Lord High Treasurer of Great Britain.

Bloomsbury-Square, June 4, 1713.

My Lord,

I Presume to give your Lordship this Trouble, to acquaint you, that having an Ambition to serve in the ensuing Parliament, I humbly desire your Lordship will please to accept of my Resignation of my Office as Commissioner of the Stamp Revenue.

I should have done this sooner, but that I heard the Commission was passing without

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my Name in it, and I would not be guilty of the Arrogance of resigning what I could not hold: But having heard this since contradicted, I am oblig'd to give it up, as with great Humility I do by this present Writing. Give me Leave, on this Occasion, to say something as to my late Conduct, with relation to the late Men in Power, and to assure whatever I have done, said or writ, has proceeded from no other Motive, but the Love of what I think Truth: For, merely as to my own Affairs, I could not wish any Man in the Administration rather than yourself, who favour those that become your Dependents, with a greater Liberality of Heart than any Man I have ever before observ'd. When I had the Honour of a short Conversation with you, you were pleased not only to signify to me, that I should remain in this Office, but to add, that if I would name to you one of more Value, which would be more commodeous to me, you would favour me in it. I am going out of any particular Dependence on your Lordship, and tell you with the Freedom of an indifferent Man, that it is impossible for any Man who thinks and has any publick Spirit, not to tremble at seeing his Country in its present Circumstances in the Hands of so daring a Genius as yours. If Incidents should arise that should place your own Safety, and what ambitious Men call Greatness, in a Balance against the general Good, our All depends upon your Choice under such a Temptation. You have my hearty and fervent Prayers to Heaven, to avert all such Dangers from you. I thank your Lordship for the Regard and Distinction which you have at sundry Times shew'd me, and wish you, while you study your Country's Safety, all Happiness and Prosperity. Share, my Lord, your good Fortune with whom you will, while it lasts, you will want no Friends; but if any adverse Day happens to you, and I live to see it, you will find I think myself obliged to be your Friend and Advocate. This is talking in a strange Dialect from a private Man to the First of the Nation; but to desire only a little, exalts a Man's Condition to a Level with those who want a great deal. But I beg your Lordship's Pardon, and am with great Respect,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient,
And most humble Servant,
RICHARD STEELE.

Craftsman, June 14. N^o 728.

A Letter of the Duke of Epernon, with the Fate of the Marechal d'Ancre.

Sovereigns must chiefly be inform'd of the Disposition of publick Affairs, from the Ministers immediately about them. If there-

fore any one should assume a superior Authority to the rest, or obtain any coercive Influence above the others, it would be cutting off so many Avenues to Information, and robbing the Publick of the free and uninfluenced Capacities of so many Counsellors.

A Perhaps, few Nations are so bleſſ'd as to have Prudence and Integrity look'd upon as the necessary Requisites to State-Preferments; but I may say without Offence, those Nations are best govern'd, where such Regulations are most attended to, and those Nations are worst govern'd, where such Qualifications are ridiculed; for wherever other Paths lead to Preferment, than what Virtue guides, that People are loſing all those Advantages, which Virtue would secure to them.

B Were we to scrutinize into the Conduct of a Minister, who would advance his Authority in Prejudice to that Equilibrium, which ought to be preserved amongst Counsellors, it may perhaps appear that he doth not advance his own Authority so much as he debases the Authority of others; for allowing his Endeavours to be crown'd with Success, will he be left a free Agent? Or should it be possibl'e for him to repent, and have it in his Inclinations to do Good, which is absurd to suppose, can he have it in his Power? He may, indeed, borrow Power from his Master, to oppress, and mislead him into arbitrary Measures; but let Destruction threaten in any Shape, durst he dispute against absolute Commands? Durst a Wolsey, or a Mazarine, provoke the Anger of their Monarch, by offering unpleasing Counſels? Where would be the Men of Character, the high Officers of State, to aid and animate, to remonstrate and enforce? Could servile Reptiles, which had lick'd the Dust, think to restrain the Wills, or Pleasures of a Prince? They might, indeed, cling round his Feet till they were spurn'd; but Authority and Dignity are Properties belonging to the Wise and Honourable.

C I have been more immediately led into these Thoughts, by reading over some French Memoirs, written at the Beginning of the last Century, relating to the Catastrophe of that Creature of Power, the Duke of Ancre, but particularly a Letter written by the Duke of Epernon to Lewis XIII. a little before the other's Exit.

D The Duke of Epernon was of the House of la Valette, one of the most illustrious Families of Gascony; so antient that it was continued by a Train of Ancestors in the Male-Line for 500 Years; many of which distinguish'd themselves by their noble Atchievements.

E As to his personal Endowments, he was temperate, wise, and brave even to an Extremity. He had a natural, and expressive Eloquence; so that in him were found all the Requisites to form a great Man. He was early bred to Arms, and continued long in the

Use of them; for War was the Science, which best suited his high Genius. By Turns he was the Favourite, or rather, by Turns he was in Favour with several successive Princes; and if we may give any Credit to the Author, who writes his Life, no Nobleman was ever more courted by different Administrations than he was. But his Nature was ill-fashion'd for the Fawnings of a Court; and no Minister could engage him in Measures derogatory to his Honour, or what he thought destructive to the real Interest of the Crown. The Regard he had to Truth will be manifest, from his open and undisguised Sentiments, which he would scarce have express'd in such plain Terms to his Sovereign, had he not been well assured of his Facts. The Person alluded to in the Letter, was the Duke of *Acres*, a Person widely different from the Duke of *Epernon*, in almost every Qualification; yet had that *Minion of Power*, by his Tricks and Cabals, so far prevail'd as to drive the Persons of the highest Rank from the Royal Presence, even the Princes of the Blood. — I will now produce the Letter itself, as translated by *Cotton*.

" I have hitherto, Sir, preserved my Hands clean, my Conscience uncorrupt, my Reputation entire, and my Fidelity without Re-proach; I have never conspired but to do you Service. Neither do I find myself guilty of the least Thought disconsonant to the Duty I owe to your Majesty and your Crown; and altho' I am not used with that Equity, nor rewarded with that Gratitude, which (without Presumption) I conceive, I have deserved, and that every Day I find something attempted upon my Offices, by the Diminution and Cutting off their just and lawful Privileges (which were ever preserved inviolable to me, during the Reign of the late King your Father) yet nothing, Sir, can prevail with me above my Duty; neither is there any so ill Usage, nor so sensible Unkindness, that can hinder me from persevering to do well, being resolved, to the last Hour of my Life, to conquer whatever just Resentments I may have, to forget all these Injuries, for which I can obtain no Satisfaction, but at the publick Expence; a Resolution, Sir, in which I am infinitely fortify'd, by the firm Belief I have, that all the Disgraces I receive, and all the foul Play that is continually practised against me, proceed from no Disaffection, your Majesty hath conceived against my Person. I know, Sir, that being naturally quick-sighted, to distinguish between your false Servants, and your true, you have ever honour'd me with your Favour. But I have this Obligation to those who are Enemies to your Crown, that they have upon all Occasions discovered themselves to be particularly so to me, and have endeavour'd by their Artifice, to represent Things otherwise

to your Majesty, than they really are, to restrain the Liberty of your own Royal Disposition from obeying the natural Inclination you have to love and cherish good Men, that as much as in them lies, they may alienate your Majesty's good Opinion from such, as by their long and faithful Services have deserved the best Room in your Heart. I hope, Sir, nevertheless, that Truth will one Day prevail in your Royal Breast over those little Arts, and that your Majesty will then be pleased to distinguish your true and faithful Servants from such as, authorized by your Name and Presence, oppres your People, invade your Authority, and continually disturb your Majesty's Peace, by their inordinate and unruly Ambition."

The Writer of the *Duke's Life*, in the Paragraph following, says,

" I have the rather inserted the express Words of this Letter, that you may see after what Manner the *Duke* took his Disgrace, and how he behaved himself towards his Enemies, notwithstanding they carry'd the whole Favour and Sway of the Court; the *Mareschal d'Acres* being manifestly pointed at in the Dispatch."

Perhaps it may be some Satisfaction to know how these two Noblemen ended their Days. The *Mareschal d'Acres* was not long after, by the King's Command, assassinated within the Gates of the *Louvre*; by which Fact, tho' the King relieved his Subjects from the Oppression of that wicked and rapacious Minister, he denied them the Satisfaction, of calling him before a Tribunal of Justice; so that he died by as avow'd a Breach of Liberty as any, he himself had advised. His illegal Death could be of small Consolation to the Subject, tho' it is an admirable Lesson to those *Slaves of Power*, who are willing to make all Things bend to the Pleasure of the *Prince*. The *Duke of Epernon* died in the 88th Year of his Age, in a Sort of honourable Imprisonment by *Ricblieu*, and his Son banish'd the Kingdom.

Tho' I have already brought this noble Duke to his End, I can't leave him without relating another Circumstance of his Life. He took an Opportunity of complaining to *Henry IV. of France*, of the partial Distribution of the Finances, with regard to some Stations and Garisons under his Command, which provoked the King to the following severe Re-proof*.

" You are perverse and importunate, and seek all Occasions to displease me. And you would have done me a greater Kindness to have kept still at the Distance you was at, than to come into my Presence only to offend G me, and I have long observed that you do not love me."

To which the *Duke* instantly reply'd,

" Sir, Your Majesty hath not a more faithful

* *Life of D. Epernon*, Book V. Fol. Ed. Page 240.

faithful Subject than myself in your Kingdom; and I had rather die, than do any Thing, the least Particle, contrary to my Duty. But, Sir, for what concerns Friendship, your Majesty knows very well, that is a Thing not to be acquired but by Friendship."

Common Sense, June 21. N^o 176.

A STORY from the PERSIAN TALES applied.

I TOOK up the Persian Tales the other Day, and met with a Story which entertain'd me agreeably: It is one of the Adventures of the Great Voyager, and is as follows.

" Having fail'd almost round the Isle of Serendib, we enter'd the Gulph of Bengal, at the lower End of which are the Kingdoms of Bengal, and Golconda; just as we enter'd it, there arose a violent Storm: We lower'd our Sails, and the Seamen did all they could to save the Ship, which they were forced at last to let drive at the Mercy of the Winds and Waves. The Storm lasted 15 Days, and blew so furiously, that we were driven 600 Leagues out of our Way. We left the long Isles of Sumatra and Java to our Larboard, and the Ship drove to the Streight of the Moluccas, South of the Philippines. The Wind chang'd at last, and turn'd easterly, it blew gently, and great was the Joy of the Ship's Company; but their Joy was soon disturb'd by an Adventure, which you will hardly believe, it being so extraordinary.

We were beginning merrily to resume our Course, and were got to the East Point of Java, when we spied a Man quite naked struggling with the Waves; he held fast by a Plank which kept him up, and made a Signal to us to come to his Assistance: We sent our Boat to him, and found by Experience, that, tho' Pity be a laudable Passion, it is sometimes dangerous. The Seamen took up the Man, and brought him on board; he looked to be about 40 Years old, was of a monstrous Shape, had a great Head, and short, thick, bristly Hair; his Mouth was excessive wide, his Teeth long and sharp, his Arms nervous, his Hands large, with a long crooked Nail on each Finger; his Eyes were like those of a Tyger, his Nose flat, and his Nostrils wide. We did not at all like his Physiognomy, and his Mien was such that it soon changed our Pity into Terror.

When this Man, such as I have described him, appear'd before Debaouscb our Master, he thus address'd him: My Lord, I owe my Life to you: I was at the Point of Destruction when you came to my Assistance. Indeed, replied Debaouscb, it would not have been long before you would have gone to the Bottom. I am not afraid of the Sea, replied the Man, I could have lived whole

Years in the Water without any Inconvenience; what torments me is Hunger, which hath devoured me above these 12 Hours, for so long it is since I have eat any Thing; therefore let me have something as soon as possible, to repair my Spirits, half spent with so long a Fast; you need not look for Niceties, I am not squeamish, I can eat any Thing.

We looked upon one another, very much surpriz'd at his Discourse, and doubted not but the Peril he had been in had crack'd his Brain. Debaouscb was of the same Mind, and, imagining he might indeed want something to eat, order'd Meat enough for six hungry Stomachs, and Cloaths to be brought him for his Covering. As for the Cloaths, says the Stranger, I shall not meddle with them; I always go naked. But, replied Debaouscb, Decency will not permit that you should stay with us in that Condition. The Man took him up short; Oh, says he, you will have Time enough to accustom yourself to it.

This brutal Answer confirm'd us in the Opinion that he had lost his Senses. Being sharp set, he was very impatient that he was not serv'd to his Mind. He stamp'd with his Foot upon the Deck, ground his Teeth, and rolled his Eyes in so ghastly a Manner, that he looked both furious and menacing: At last, what he wanted appear'd. He fell upon it with a Greediness that surpriz'd us, and tho' there was sufficient for any other six Men, he dispatch'd it in a Moment.

When he had cleared the Table of all that had been laid upon it, with an Air of Authority he made us bring him more. Debaouscb, being resolv'd to try how much this devouring Monster could really swallow, order'd that as much should be set before him as at first: This second Service was also devour'd in a Moment.

We thought he would stop here; but we were mistaken: He demanded more Meat still. Upon which, one of the Sailors, going up to this Brute, was about to chaffise him for his Insolence, which the other observing prevented, by laying his two Paws upon his Shoulders, fixing his Nails in his Flesh, and tearing him to Pieces. In an Instant there were 50 Sabres drawn to revenge this Murder. Every one pref'd forward to strike him; but they soon found, to their Terror, that the Skin of their Enemy was as impenetrable as Adamant; their Sabres broke, and their Edges turn'd without so much as raising the Skin. Tho' he receiv'd no Hurt by their Blows, they did not strike him with Impunity: He seiz'd on one of the most forward of his Assailants, and, with amazing Strength, tore him to Bits before our Eyes.

When we found our Sabres were useless, and that we could not wound him, we threw ourselves upon him to endeavour to fling him into

into the Sea ; but we could not stir him. Besides his huge Limbs, and prodigious Nerves, he stuck his crooked Nails in the Timber of the Deck, and stood as immovable as a Rock in the Middle of the Waves. He was so far from being afraid of us, that he said, with a sullen Smile, You have taken the wrong Course, Friends ; you will fare much better by obeying me ; I declare, if you continue to oppose my Will, I will serve you all as your two Companions have been serv'd.

These Words made our Blood freeze in our Veins : We a third Time set a large Quantity of Provisions before him ; he fell aboard it, and one would have thought, by his eating, that his Stomach rather encreas'd than diminish'd. When he saw we were determined to submit, he grew better humour'd. He said he was sorry we had forced him to do what he did, and pretended he loved us for taking him out of the Sea, where he must have starv'd, if he had remain'd a few Hours longer ; that he wish'd he could meet with some other Vessel loaden with good Provision, because he would throw himself on board it, and leave us in Quiet. He talk'd thus all the while he was devouring ; he laugh'd loud, and banter'd like other Men.

At the fourth Service he gave over, and was two Hours without eating at all. During this Excess of Sobriety he was very familiar in Discourse. He ask'd us, one after another, what Country we were of, what were our Customs, and what had been our Adventures ?

We were in Hopes that the Fumes of what he had eaten would have got up into his Head, and have made him drowsy ; we impatiently expected that Sleep would have seiz'd on him, and were resolv'd to take him napping, and fling him into the Sea before he had Time to look about him. This Hope was our only Resource, for tho' we had great Store of Provision on Board, yet, after his Rate of Eating, he would have devoured all in a very little Time ; but, alas ! in vain did we flatter ourselves with these Hopes : The cruel Wretch, guessing our Design, told us he never slept ; that the great Quantity he eat repaired the Wearisomeness of Nature, and supplied the Want of Sleep. To our Grief we found what he said to be true. We told him long and tedious Stories, on Purpose to lull him asleep ; but the Monster never shut his Eyes.

We then deplored our Misfortune, and the Master despaired of ever seeing *Golconda* more ; when on a sudden something like a Cloud appear'd over our Heads ; we thought at first it was a Storm that was gathering, and we rejoiced at it ; — our Ship might be driven on Shore on some Island, we might save ourselves by swimming, and by this Means be deliver'd from this Monster, who doubtless intended to devour us when he had eat up all our Provisions.

We wish'd therefore that a violent Storm would overtake us. However, we were deceiv'd ; what we took for a Cloud was the greatest Rook that ever was seen. This monstrous Bird darted himself on our Enemy, who, mistrusting nothing, had no Time to guard himself against such an Attack. A The Rook seiz'd him with his Claws, and flew up into the Air with his Prey.

We then were Witnesses of a very extraordinary Combat : The Man recollecting himself, and finding himself hoisted in the Air betwixt the Tallons of a winged Monster, resolved to defend himself. He struck his crooked Nails into the Body of the Rook, and setting his Teeth in his Stomach, was devouring his Flesh, Feathers and all ; nay, he eat the very Heart of the Rook, who, recollecting all his Force, at the last Gasp struck his Beak so forcibly into his Enemy's Head, that they both fell dead into the Sea, not many Paces from the Ship.

Thus was it written in the Table of Predestination, that we should be deliver'd from this dangerous Man. General was the Joy of all the Ship's Company, when they saw themselves rid of such a Monster ; we could not enough admire our good Fortune, and were sorry for the Death of the Rook, to whom we were indebted for it."

As I conceive these Tales are to be taken in a figurative Sense, I never read one of them, but I endeavoured to draw some Moral from it. By the Ship, therefore, I understand a Commonwealth : The naked Man struggling with the Waves, I take to be some Person of ruin'd Fortunes, who, when he is ready to sink, is reliev'd at the Expence of his Country ; he is taken into the Ship, that is, he is taken into some Employment in the State out of Charity to give him Bread. He is no sooner reliev'd, but he sets about him to ruin his Benefactors : He devours as much at once as would satisfy six other reasonable Men ; he calls for more and more, is never satisfied ; the more is given him, the more his Greediness encreases. The Ship's Company, that is to say, the People, begin to repent their having reliev'd such a Monster ; they have Store of Provision on board, that is, the Nation is rich ; but yet they plainly perceive they shall soon be beggar'd, if they cannot get rid of this insatiable Wretch. It is the common Cause, one and all begin to stir in it ; but he is grown so strong by the Nourishment he has drawn from them, they are not able to stir him ; he mocks, he insults, and sometimes threatens them ; he tells them, if they will not submit, and become his Slaves, he will destroy them all. They wish for a Tempest, that is, for War, or any Thing, that may give them a Chance to be freed from this Devourer. Now behold the Justice of Providence : Just at the Time he thinks himself most

most secure, Destruction hangs over him, and they are reliev'd at once from their Dangers and their Fears. This gives a Lesson of Instruction to the People, never to despair, tho' under Oppression; for Providence will never suffer such an insatiable and ungrateful Monster, as is here described, to go unpunished.

Craftsman, June 21. N^o 729.

A Passage in Homer apply'd to Admiral VERNON.

THERE are two Lines in Homer's *Iliad*, so applicable to Admiral Vernon's glorious Success in the *West-Indies*, that I flatter myself a little Comment upon them cannot be disagreeable.

These two Lines are contain'd in a Speech of *Nepheleus*, a Descendant, or a Son of *Hercules*, to *Sarpedon*. He is speaking of *Hercules*; who, says he, destroy'd the City of *Troy*, with **SIX SHIPS ONLY.**

"Ἐς δις οὐρ νηνοῦ, καὶ ἀνδράσι ταυροτέ-
ροσιν.

"Ἔτις ἐκλάτακε τόλιν, χήρωσε δ' ἀγνιάς.

Which Mr. Barnes hath render'd thus into Latin.

Sex solis cum Navibus, & Viris paucioribus,
Illi vastavit Urbem, & defolavit Campit.

There is more Poetry, but less Exactness in Mr. Pope's Translation; and therefore I hope that Gentleman will excuse me for making a little Alteration in the following Lines, which I humbly think will bring them nearer to the Original; tho' I must do him the Justice to confess, that whilst he was employ'd in that laborious Undertaking, he could not possibly foresee, that the Words *with six Ships only* would make so great a Figure in our Language, as they do at present. After this short Apology to that great and inimitable Author, I shall proceed to the Point, and give my Readers Mr. Pope's English Translation of this Passage, with the small Alteration I have begg'd Leave to make.

With six Ships only, and a slender train,
He left the town a wide deserted plain.

When I did our gallant Commander the Justice to pay him my poor Mite of Praise for the great Service and Honour, which he had done to his King and Country, (see p. 177.) the ministerial Writers immediately attempted to divest him of the whole Merit, and transferr'd it to their Patron, who projected the Plan of Operation, as they pretended, and gave the Admiral Orders to put it in Execution; but when the Affair was thoroughly canvass'd, and these profigate Fellows could no longer support their Assertions, they tack'd about, and rack'd all their dull Brains to ridicule and condemn the Action itself, as an

Obstruction to their Patron's Scheme of a *Pacification, Accommodation, Mediation, Convention, Preliminaries*, or by whatever other Name he may be pleased to christen his next Treaty.

I need not produce any other Proof of this Fact than the *Gazetteer of Thursday, June 12.* where the infamous Author, whoever he

A may be, (whether a Prime-Minister, or one of his *lowest Hirelings*) makes an awkward Attempt not only to ridicule Admiral Vernon, but to abuse the *Common Council of London*, for having address'd his Majesty upon that Head, and presented the Admiral with the *Freedom of the City in a Gold Box*. I wonder he did not pay the same Compliment to both *Houses of Parliament*, who had likewise the Insolence to congratulate his Majesty upon the same Occasion. This scandalous Abuse is founded upon a pretended Parallel between the Taking of *Porto Bello* with *six Ships only*, and a *Privateer's* plundering a little Spanish Town in *America* with *four Men only*. Whether the Fact is true, or whether there is any such Man as Captain Hall, the *Gazetteer's Hero*, I know not; but it is evident that this idle Story, whether true or false, could be introduced with no other View than to depreciate Admiral Vernon's Expedition, and to cast a scurrilous Reflexion upon the *City of London*, for congratulating his Majesty upon it. For this Purpose, we are told that the *Common Council*, who are ironically call'd *that illustrious and august Assembly*, design to do the brave Captain Hall the same Honours, by addressing his Majesty on his glorious Success, presenting him with the *Freedom of the City in a Gold Box*, and putting him in Nomination for one of their *Representatives*, at the ensuing Election.

B C It is likewise said, with the same impudent Sneer, that Captain Hall is going upon some other *Expedition of great Importance*; but keeps the same a Secret, lest Orders should be sent to countermand him; and the Whole concludes with a Piece of dull Drollery upon sending none of our numerous *Land-Forces* to the Assistance of Admiral Vernon, or any of our other Commanders at Sea, notwithstanding the Regiments transported from *Ireland*, and the *Marines* raised here were design'd, as it was pretended, for that Purpose.

D E F G Are not all these Facts a plain Proof that a certain Gentleman and his *Creatures* will never forgive our *British Hercules* for disconcerting their *Schemes*, by the eminent Service he hath done his Country? Or will any of his *mercenary Scribblers* have the Front, for the future, to ascribe the Success of that Expedition to the Wisdom and Instructions of *their Patron*?

H There follows a humorous Letter from the *politick Barber*, (whose Story see in p. 77, 78.) which must be defer'd to our next.

WIT

WIT and CONSTANCY: Or, The ART to be HAPPY in LOVE. A POEM, found among the late celebrated Mr. Addison's Papers, and suppos'd to be a Compliment on his Marriage with the Countess of Warwick.

Exsolvit promissa Venus. —

*Quare, ego quæ dico non fallax, accipe, Vates,
Quodque Deus vero Cyntius ore ferat.*

TIBULL.

To a LADY.

SINCE from my muse *Florelia* claims a lay,
Muse, the claim'd tribute to *Florelia* pay. [sound,
Fearless, when she commands, I catch the
And slight the dangers of poetick ground.
The secret cause I hasten to explore,
And truths reveal, by none reveal'd before :
How wit should never sicken with despair,
But would, if constant, gain at last the fair.
While thus I rove amid th' *Aonian* throng,
Attend, my charmer, and adorn my song.
Still flow the verse, like thy own thoughts, serene,
Sweet, as thy looks, and graceful, as thy mien.
Let thy bright eyes inspire each happy line,
And all thy beauties in my numbers shine.
In *Cyprus*, o'er the foamless main was seen,
Convey'd by *Zephyrs*, beauty's infant queen.
Thither first wafted in her pearly shell,
There still the goddess most delights to dwell.
It chanc'd, that once to shun the sultry day,
High on the *Paphian* mount embow'd she lay.
Her nymphs, in beauteous order rank'd around,
All strove to please, and all some office found.
These braid, while others with a fruitless care,
Fix various gemms amid the braided hair.
No various gemms, tho' bright, can there sur-
prise; [eyes!
How dull the brilliant, when 'tis near such
The busy *Graces* too their fondness show,
And streams of nectar lavishly bestow.
The fanning *Loves* their little wings display,
And to their mother the cool breeze convey.
Here sparkl'd rosy *Truth* profusely drest,
The cloudless brow the joyous mind confess'd ;
'Round her *Peruasion* languishingly clung,
And *Harmony* thrill'd, melting from her tongue ;
While next were seen with their enchanting
pow'rs,
Array'd in whitest robes, the smiling *Hours*.
Cupid was only absent from the throng,
Flown off in secret to revenge his wrong.
Enrag'd at *Pbaebus*, he resolv'd to show
He bore, tho' small, yet an unerring bow.
He sped an arrow, and the *Delian* found
That arrow deeper, than his own, could wound.
At length bright *Venus* left her soft repose,
And on the mount a walk for pleasure chose.
Shaded the walk'd, for sudden myrtles sprung,
And o'er her head in moving arches hung.
Her purple robe flow'd graceful on the ground,
And golden sandals to her feet were bound.
Her locks part curl'd before, while part behind
it h' lovely exor wanton'd in the wind.

Around, sweet shrubs, and flow'rs of various
hue,

Cassia, and *roses*, and *carnations* grew.

Such fragrances the ravish'd senses fill,

Arabia seems all crowded in one hill.

The rising flow'rs the goddess smil'd to see,

There rose not yet her sad *Anemone* ;

For yet *Adonis* liv'd ; her ev'ry thought

Fix'd on *Adonis*, him alone she sought.

For him her wond'rous *Cestus* she put on,

Nor wore the needless charm, if he was gone.

For him in pensive silence now she stands,

And rouls her eyes around the *Cyprian* lands :

O'er meads, and fields, and furzy lawns they

paſt,

Till her *Adonis* was descriy'd at last.

His weary limbs nigh a cool fountain spread,

Beneath a *poplar* on a mossy bed,

Supine he slept, and by him bleeding lay

A beamy stag, the triumph of the day.

This *Venus* saw, and could no more refrain

From words, and sighing, thus disclos'd her

pain.

Ah ! foolish boy ! who there canſt chooſe to
And not to ſlumber on this panting breast.
Have grassy banks, or rocky pillows charms,
More soft, more tempting, than theſe circling
arms ?

Do I in hounds my glorious rivals meet ?

Kiss they as melting, or breathe they as sweet ?

O ! shame to *Venus* ! yet, where e'er I turn,

All nature owns me, and confpires to burn.

At my approach, wild beasts forget to roar,

And humbly couch, who rampant rag'd before.

Lions, and tigers, gentle as my doves,

Hafe to the coverts, and purſue their loves.

Loſt is my pow'r on thee, fair, cruel boy !

Scornful of love, or tasteless of the joy.

Thou ſeek'ſt the woods, e'er from *Aurora*'s eyes

The ruddy flame has yet bluſh'd o'er the skies.

Nor ceafe thy Savage ſports, till *Titan*'s beams

Declining, languiſh in *Hesperian* ſtreams.

Evn' while thou ſleep'ſt, in my fond arms em-
brac'd,

The boar is hunted, or the stag is chace'd.

My form could never bend thy stubborn heart,

Did not *Peruasion* lend her soft'ning art.

Transporting thought ! but to her tongue I

know,

Not to my beauties, I those transports owe. [ſu'd,

The sweetly mournful theme had been pur-

But, near advancing, the *Apollo* view'd.

On his right arm a silver bow was ſlung,

And on his left an iv'ry harp, unſtrung.

A golden mantle 'round his limbs he wore,

And at his back a sounding quiver bore.

A laurel crown enclos'd his youthful head,

But o'er his face a gloomy care was spread.

Then thus began th' immortal queen of love,

Hail ! god of verſe ! hail ! fair increase of Jove !

Now by thy preſence may my *Cyprus* boast

Herself as happy, as the *Delian* coaſt.

Say, for what cauſe was this kind viſit ſhown ?

Why is thy brow diſhonour'd with a ſrown ?

What

Where sprung that leafy wreath, that wond'rous green,

For such was never in my gardens seen.

Goddess! (*Latona's* progeny reply'd)
Of heav'n, and earth, and seas delightful pride!
Suppliant to thee I will reveal my grief,
Thou, who canst only bring, oh! bring relief!

A melancholy tale of love shall show, [brow.
Whence this new crown, and this uncomely
As from my *Cyntian* rites, with pleasing
thought,

Parnassus, and the sacred choir I sought,
A-while in air my hovering pinions play'd,
And all the *Grecian* regions I survey'd.
Arcadia's winding vales, and lofty woods,
Her *Laton* calm, *Helios'* rapid floods,
Fix'd long my eyes; there flush'd with sylvan
chace

I spy'd a nymph, too bright for mortal race.
Daphne her name, from * *Laton* sprung, who
shows

The yellow bottom, as he crystal flows.
Scarce could my sister with such looks compare,
Such looks were only, than thy own, less fair.
My throbbing heart swift admiration fir'd,
But the coy virgin was in vain admir'd.
True, with success my rival I betray'd,
And show'd † *Leucippus* in a figur'd maid.
I fear'd the quick completion of his joy,
For now a girl was thought the bearded boy.
His bashful looks the fraud securely kept,
And nigh my *Daphne*, unobserv'd, he slept.
Till with her nymphs she sought the cooling
streams,

Refreshment grateful from my scorching beams.
The royal youth by her command undrest,
And the false huntress was too plain confess.
Her nymphs, enraged, to vengeance mov'd
not flow,

[bow.
Each shriek'd, but shrieking, bent a faithful
I saw my almost happy rival bleed,
The darts directed, and improv'd their speed.

Yet what avail'd it, that he thus was gone,
If still I liv'd despairing, when alone?
Leucippus ruin'd could small pleasure bring,
Unless *Apollo's* triumph thence might spring.
Me with disdain the fair *Arcadian* view'd,
And swifter fled, when swifter I pursu'd.
To touch her breast the well try'd harp I strung,
And her sweet form in as sweet numbers sung.
To numbers would not the proud nymph submit;

I lavish'd heav'nly stores of fruitless wit.
At last she fainted in the tedious chace,
And mine I thought her, seiz'd in my embrace;
But chang'd she vanish'd by her own decree:
My arms for *Daphne* clasp'd a verdant tree.
Her boughs for ever shall by me be worn,
And still the youth, whom I inspire, adorn.

But ah! what youth will dare, tho' I inspire,

To strike the fatal, unsuccessful lyre?
Who can presumptuous hope the fair to move,
When his own *Phœbus* was despis'd in love?
Pierian gardens will neglected grow,
And *Helicon* forgot in verse to flow.
But thou, propitious goddess, lend thy aid!
Teach *Harmony* to melt th'unlist'ning maid.
Where e'er thy blooming daughters lead the
way,

My tuneful sons with pleasure shall obey.
Oh! let them thy all-pow'rful influence find,
And wit for ever meet with beauty kind!

I see thy mistress in that fadefis green,
And thy loss pity, said th' *Idalian* queen.
Nor should *Apollo* e'er from *Venus* want
That aid, which *Venus* could with safety grant.
But sure, to rove is thy delightful care,
To flutter round, and sigh from fair to fair.
Couldst thou not once in other nymphs allow
As num'rous charms, as in thy *Daphne* now?
Look'd young ‡ *Bolina* to thy early sight
With face less lovely, or with eyes less bright?
Nor her thy most melodious strains could
please,

She fled, and plung'd into my parent seas.
A future city shall to ages tell,
Nam'd from *Bolina*, where *Bolina* fell.
Next, *Perse* kindl'd raptures in thy breast,
Then *Clytie's* faultless shape thy soul possest:
Nor long with *Clytie* was thy passion fed,
But wildly wander'd to *Leucotboe's* bed.
More might be number'd, nor yet durst I blame
In thee, a god, variety of flame.
But should thy sons on earth example take,
And idols once, as loveless things, forsake;
Burn with a faithless, loose, fantastick fire,
And safely for a hundred nymphs expire;
Were then the mighty boon, thou ask'st, con-

vey'd, [maid.
Did they but tempt, soon yields the tempted
To them what pow'r unbounded would be-
long,

To scatter ruin 'round each sparkling throng?
Already vast their energy is felt, [melt.
And frozen virgins, warm'd by verse, can
I know the female pride; a flatt'ring strain
May sometimes lose, but oftner far will gain.
Love with delusive haste, by musick's art,
Steals unperciev'd on a fond youthful heart.
My own weak sex forbids me to comply,
And part I grant thy suit, and part deny.
'Tis then decreed, if sons of thine appear,
In short-breath'd vows, and raptur'd thoughts
sincere,

Who, spite of fashion, dare one flame pursue,
Unweary'd, and inviolably true;
Persuasion such shall faithfully attend, [friend:
Each word, each action, and each look be-

* *Pausanias de Arcad.* & *Philostratus, L. 1.*
& *Aesthetic, L. 7.*

The fair at last shall *Love's* commands obey,
And all the lover's pangs with bliss o'er-pay.

So spoke the goddess, and the god no more
Reply'd, but smiling, fought the *Delian* shore.

Hence, hence, ye bards! who still with va-
ried pain

Die o'er and o'er in many a mournful strain:
Who *Julia's* eyes, this hour, to stars compare,
The next, *Almira* has a killing air!

Your changing folly, not your love is shown,
For to love truly, is to love but one.

Pleas'd was *Britannia* lately to behold
Confirm'd, what *Venus* had ordain'd of old.
Apollo's happy & fav'rite son was own'd,
And heav'nly wit with heav'nly beauty crown'd.

Nor let the man, whose vast extended mind
Is for his country's ev'ry good design'd,
The muse's laurel carelessly disclaim,
Nor blush the patriot at the poet's fame:
Think not that fame inglorious, which to gain,
Consuls and scepter'd *Cæsars* strove in vain.
All own your merit to those blissful arms,
Which can have only, than your muse, more
charms.

*Admiral Hosier's GHOST. To the Tune
of, Come and listen to my Ditty.*

As, near *Porto Bello* lying,
On the gently swelling flood,
At midnight, with streamers flying,
Our triumphant navy rode;
There, while *Vernon* late, all glorious
From the *Spaniards* late defeat,
And his crew, with shouts victorious,
Drank success to *England's* fleet,
On a sudden, shrilly sounding,
Hideous yells and shrieks were heard;
Then, each heart with fears confounding,
A sad troop of ghosts appear'd;
All in dreary hammocks shrouded,
Which for winding sheets they wore;
And with looks by sorrow clouded,
Frown'd on that hostile shore.
On them gleam'd the moon's wan lustre,
When the shade of *Hosier* brave,
His pale band was seen to muster,
Rising from their wat'ry grave:
O'er the glimmering wave he hy'd him,
Where the *Burford* rear'd her sail,
With three thousand ghosts beside him,
And in groans did *Vernon* hail.
• Heed, oh heed! my fatal story,
• I am *Hosier's* injur'd ghost;
• You who now have purchas'd glory
• At this place where I was lost;
• Tho' in *Porto Bello's* ruin
• You now triumph, free from fears,
• Yet to hear of my undoing,
• You will mix your joys with tears.
• See you mournful spectres sweeping,
• Ghastly, o'er this hated wave,
• Whose wan cheeks are stain'd with weeping;
• These were *English* captains brave;

• And these numbers pale and horrid,
• Were my sailors once so bold;
• Lo, each hangs his drooping forehead,
• While his dismal fate is told.
• I, by twenty sail attended,
• Did this *Spaniard* town affright,
• Nothing then its wealth defended
• But my orders not to fight;
• Oh that, with my wrath complying,
• I had cast them in the main,
• Then, no more unactive lying,
• I had low'd the pride of *Spain*.
• For resistance I could fear none,
• But with twenty ships had done,
• What thou, brave and happy *Vernon*,
• Did'st atchieve with *six* alone.
• Then the *Bastimento's* never
• Had our foul dishonour seen,
• Nor the sea the sad receiver
• Of these gallant men had been.
• Thus, like thee, proud *Spain* dismayed,
• And her galleons leading home,
• Tho', condemn'd for disobeying,
• I had met a traytor's doom;
• To have fall'n, my country crying,
• He has play'd an English part,
• Had been better far than dying
• Of a griev'd and broken heart.
• Unrepining at thy glory,
• Thy successful arms we hail,
• But remember our sad story,
• When to *Britain* back you fail!
• All your country's foes subduing,
• When your patriot friends you see,
• Think on vengeance for my ruin,
• And for *England* sham'd in me.

SIR,

THO' the three last Lines of the fol-
lowing Stanza's may seem to have no
Foundation in the Text, yet, I think, they
bear so near an Affinity to the Sense of it, as
that they may be, without Scruple, admitted
in a Paraphrase.

*I am, Sir,
Your constant Reader,
And Humble Servant,
THEOPHRASTUS.*

DEUT. xxxii. to VERSE 6. Paraphrased.

STAND still, ye heavens, and with at-
tention hear,
Thou lift'ning earth, incline thine ear,
Doctrine salubrious as refreshing show'rs,
Or morning dew to rising flow'rs,
Or rain, that in small, pearly drops descends,
And to the tender grass its cheering moisture
lends,

My opening lips shall utter; I'll adore
Jehovah's glorious name, his wondrous works
explore.

Justice

Justice and truth, in bright array,
See round his throne their wings display,
Stedfast, unshaken, and secure :
As harden'd rocks amid the main,
Its swelling waves, and boist'rous storms disdain,
And all its lashings, fix'd, endure.
His chosen offspring from his paths have
stray'd,
By corrupt inclinations sway'd.
No more his heavenly form they wear ;
No more his sacred image bear,
But all defil'd, degenerate appear.
Fond, foolish race, who thus requite
Th' Almighty Sov'reign of the earth,
Whose pow'rsful hand first gave thee birth,
And from the fetters of a foreign land,
Redeem'd thee captive ; whose command
Can send thee swift to shades of endless
night ;
Close thy dim eyes, restrain thy panting breath,
And lock thee fast within the gloomy realms
of death.

An ODE on reading the Sixth Metre of the first Book of BOETIUS of the Consolation of Philosophy, as translated by Richard Lord Viscount Preston.

WHEN summer's kindly heats arise,
And fragrant flowers perfume the skies ;
Who to the ground commits the seed ?
Or drowns with streams the ripening mead ?
When cutting winds severely blow,
With piercing frosts, and falling snow ;
Who to the grove or woodland goes,
To crop the violet or rose ?
If you the yellow corn would mow,
In autumn see the seed you sow :
If you the purple grape would press,
Before the frosts, your vineyard dress.
Thus God allots to every care,
Of time a fit and proper share ;
And happy they, who wisely chuse
Of every state the proper use.
But he who leaving order, strays,
And wanders in untimely ways ;
His labour fruit'els will be found,
And never with success be crown'd.
Then with the love of virtue fir'd,
With hopes of endless joys inspir'd ;
In this short life with patience bear
Afflictions, sufferings, toil and care.
Nay, part with life, and all that's dear,
From vice to keep your conscience clear ;
For thus the seeds of bliss are sown,
The labours of the just to crown.

*Note. The Lines mark'd thus * are taken from Lord Preston's Translation of Boetius.*

On DIVINE BEAUTY.

BEFORE the azure-vaulted skies,
Or pomp of solar light,
Beauty immortal and divine
Blaz'd out supremely bright.
Spaces unknown, illumin'd round,
With boundless glory shin'd,
The splendid temple of the God,
Who forms the human mind.
What art thou, beauty ? from whose womb
Fair smiling nature came,
With God's idea newly stamp'd,
When charms o'er spread this frame.
Thy parents are eternal thought,
And ever-beaming light,
Confusion from thy presence hasten,
And horror takes his flight.
But if a riv'let of thy rays
Transports the soul below,
What raptures must it dazled, lost,
In thy full ocean know ?

The WISH.

THINK, O my soul ! in awful dread,
What thou of heav'n wou'dst crave.
Thou wou'dst not be a guilty lord,
Or a gay, dazzling knave.
Nor by a roguish, sordid scheme
Exhaust a nation's store ;
Or the bright diadem profane
With anguish of the poor.
Let barb'rous nations, gull'd by bribes,
In tyranny delight,
Brave Britain public liberty
Asserts for public right.
But yet unequal to the cares,
That must surround the great,
What wou'dst thou ? only competence,
Content, and a retreat.

J. DINSDALE.

To FAVONIUS, an ODE.

FAVONIUS, come, and in thy train,
Enlivening warmth and verdure bring :
Breathe thy soft fragrance round the plain,
And o'er the woodland pour the spring.
Dire Boreas, with tyrannic laws,
Too long restrains thy genial powers :
Break then thy chain, assert thy cause ;
Give us the sun to wake the flowers.
But chief indulge thy favourite breeze,
To Pean's, to the muses shade * ;
Give vigour to the shiv'ring trees ;
With living tap'stry deck the glade.

Sweet spot! where sculpture, painting, join
With music, to improve the bowl;
Where art and nature both combine,
To raise the mind, and glad the soul,
O how I long to tread thy maze!
To wander thro' its fairy rounds;
On groops of gliding beauties gaze,
And listen to the warbling sounds.
To these blest bowers of vivid green,
If *Chloe* come, as snow-drops fair,
Her presence will enrich the scene,
And all *Elysium* open there.

EPIGRAM.

WOULD you to *Orcus*' shades descend,
To be exempt from care;
You need but wench and tipple well,
And you will soon be there.

M.

The preceding Answer'd.

NOT to those dreary shades I'd go,
But to some place above;
Therefore I'll not a troller be,
Nor ever think on love.

June 6th
1740.

R. W.

An Epistle from a Country Parson to a Country Squire.

EXI'd from *Claremont*, to dull home conf'd,
How shall I chase the spleen, that sours my [mind?
• Sure cordials sage philosophy prescribes.—
As soon the *mate* you may hire with bribes,
• The volumes of our grave divines explore,
• What casuistick piles, an endless store!—
Endless indeed, their hours who thus mispend,
Pore to no purpose, puzzle to no end.—
• Turn politician, curb the pride of *Spain*,
• A mitre merit, and a mitre gain,
• The patriot's glorious prize.—In troth as well
Sincerity might win a modern belle—
• Climb the tall summits of *Parnassus* hill,
• And quaff the streams of *Aganippe*'s rill;
• Mount *Pegasus*,—Alas! too soon you'll find it,
The jade is miserably broken-winded. [bowl
Come then, O come, and let the jocund
Dispel the vapours, and revive the soul.
The circling gais with lively vigour fires,
Warms the chill'd spirits, and gay mirth insp'res. [Joye

With nuptial fetters gall'd, thus hen-peck'd
Seeks a retreat from jarring realms above;
He flies up-born, upon his eagle's back,
Stun'd by the din of an eternal clack,
At *Baucis*' peaceful hut descends to dine,
• There many a goblet fil's with cheering wine,

On earth enjoys the bliss, which heav'n deny'd,
His cares are drown'd, and he forgets his bride.

Imitation of ODE V. Book I. of HORACE.

WHAT youth, in rosy bowers laid,
His locks with liquid odours spread,
Now hugs thee to his panting breast,
And thinks no mortal half so blest?
For whom dost thou, enchanting fair,
In ringlets wreath thy flowing hair?
For whom, my *Pyrrha*, dost thou deign
To deck thus elegantly plain?

Th' unwary wretch, who fees no guile,
Drinks poison in, at ev'ry smile;
And figures to his flattering mind
Thee, always vacant, always kind:
Unwont to see, unwont to hear
One chiding word, or look severe;
How shall he view, with secret dread,
That heavenly face with clouds o'erspread?
How often curse his fatal love?
His gods? which so inconstant preve.

Ah hapless they! who view thy face
Adorn'd with ev'ry winning grace;
Unknowing *Pyrrha*'s fickle heart,
Full-fraught with all deceiving art.

In yonder votive tablets read,
How I from dreadful shipwreck freed,
My dropping weeds hurg up to thee,
Great *Neptune*, ruler of the sea.

An Answer to an ENIGMA in the LONDON MAGAZINE for May 1740, p. 235.

ER, sir, I'd read your riddle thro',
Your dark mysterious theme I knew:
For each reflecting line shew'd plain,
A LOOKING-GLASS was in your brain.
'Tis that, the ladies all admire,
'Tis that, all beaux and belles desire;
'Tis that, each beauty will disclose;
And that, the smallest blemish shows.
When *Silvia*'s told she's all divine;
Her face does like an angel's shine;
Her eyes diffuse enliv'ning rays,
And round her bosom *Cupid* plays;
Her voice is like the *Sirens*, sweet;
And monarchs fall beneath her feet:
That she with goddeses shou'd join,
And grace the bright celestial train:
A MIRROUR will the truth discover;
She'll know 'twas flatt'ry in her lover,
And be convinc'd, against her will,
She's but an earthly mortal still.

J. C.

We ask Pardon for omitting the Epistle to *Mytilio*, which shall be inserted in our next, as also the Father's Complaint, the Receipt to make a Maw-Wallop, &c.

• — — *Hauustum Cratera repleri*
Sponte sua, per seque vident succrescere Vina.

THE

THE

Monthly Chronologer.

ON the 30th of last Month an Express arriv'd, with Advice, that on the 20th of the said Month, O. S. died in the 52d Year of his Age, *Frederick William King of Prussia, Margrave of Brandenburg, Arch-Chamberlain and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, &c.* He is succeeded by *Charles Frederick*, his eldest Son, born Jan. 24, 1712. The late King was Son of *Frederick III. Elector of Brandenburg*, who was made a Knight of the Garter by *K. William*, and in 1700 took upon himself the Title of King of *Prussia*, which was acknowledg'd by *France* and *Spain* in the Treaty of *Utrecht*. The late King's Mother was *Sophia Charlotte, Princess of Hanover*, Sister of *K. George I.* and he married *Sophia Dorothea, Princess of Hanover*, his Cousin German, and only Sister to our present most gracious Sovereign. Besides his eldest Son and Successor, he has left three Sons and five Daughters, four of whom are married. The Family of *Brandenburg* is reckon'd next in Strength to the House of *Austria*, and their Dominions are large and fruitful.

SUNDAY, June 1.

His Majesty's Ship the *Deptford*, Captain *Pickering* Commander, came to *Portsmouth*, and brought in a *Spanish Privateer*, call'd the *St. Sebastian y las Animas*, commanded by *Don Pablo de Arbez*. She carried 12 Guns and 114 Men; but when taken had but 91. This is the Privateer that has so much annoy'd our Ships in the Channel, and off *St. Sebastians*: She has taken at least 22 *English* Ships, and is the same that lately engag'd *Capt. Mackey of the Nesbit*. (See p. 245.)

TUESDAY, 3.

The Parliament was, by the Lords Justices, further prorogu'd to *July 8*.

FRIDAY, 6.

Her Royal Highness the Princess of *Hesse* set out from *St. James's*, embark'd at *Greenwich* on board the *Mary Yatch*, sail'd about 7 in the Morning, arriv'd in *Holland* the next Day, and from thence proceeded for *Hesse-Cassel*.

SUNDAY, 8.

A Tender, call'd the *Lilliputian*, from being the smallest belonging to the Navy, took a *Spanish Privateer* off the Land's-End.

MONDAY, 9.

His Grace the Duke of *Argyle* arriv'd at *Edinburgh* at his Lodging in the *Abbey*, and

was there attended by a great many Persons of Distinction, as also by the Lord Provost, Magistrates and Town Council of *Edinburgh* in a Body.

FARO, May 17. N. S. Four Barca-longas put out of this Port to Sea on the 8th Instant, and the next Morning were taken by his Britannick Majesty's Ship the *Superbe*: They were going to *Lugos*, to take in Ladings of Tobacco from the Register Ship there, for *Cadiz*. Three others from *Seville* are here, laden with Artillery and Ammunition, and a Company of Gunners on board of each, bound for *Cadiz*: They are lying just within the Bar, but are afraid to proceed while the *Superbe* is upon the Coast.

WEDNESDAY, 18.

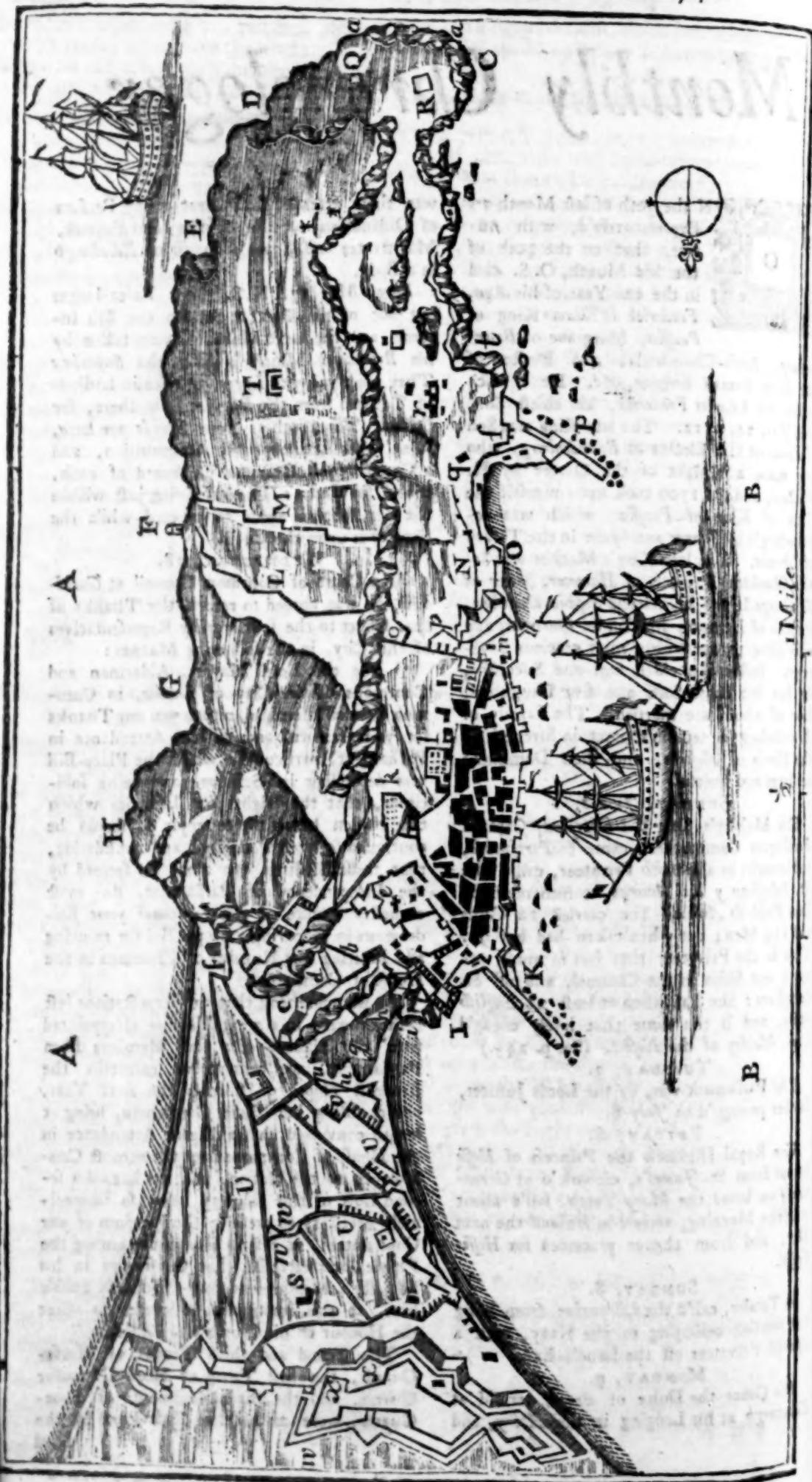
At a Court of Common Council at *Guildhall*, it was agreed to return the Thanks of that Court to the four worthy Representatives of this City, in the following Manner:

"We the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commons of the City of *London*, in Common Council assembled, return you our Thanks for your faithful and diligent Attendance in Parliament, particularly while the Place-Bill was depending last Sessions; and being solicitous, that the Rights and Liberties which this Nation has hitherto enjoy'd, should be continued to latest Posterity, and considering, that those Blessings can alone be secured by the Independence of Parliament, do most earnestly require of you to renew your Endeavours in procuring a proper Bill for reducing and limiting the Number of Placemen in the House of Commons.

As we apprehend that our Expectations last Sessions were in a great Measure disappointed thro' the Absence of a few Members from Parliament, we cannot but entertain the strongest Hopes of Success the next Year, not doubting but those Gentlemen, being at length convinced that a diligent Attendance in the House of Commons is of the utmost Consequence to the Nation, will not hazard a second Loss of this salutary Law, so immediately necessary to preserve the Freedom of our Constitution, to restore *Unanimity* among the People, and establish that Confidence in his Majesty's Measures as may effectually enable him, at this important Juncture, to assert the Honour of his Crown and Kingdom."

The second and third Troops of Horse-Guards, the first Troop of Horse Grenadier Guards, and the three Regiments of Foot-Guards, were review'd in *Hyde-Park* by the Lord

A Plan of GIBRALTAR.



Explanation of the PLAN of GIBRALTAR.—A A Mediterranean Sea.—B B Part of the Bay.—a a Entrance into the Mediterranean.—C Little Europa.—D Great Europa.—E Salto Garrobo.—F Signal House.—G Middle Hill.—H The biggest Part of the Mountain, above 1300 Feet higher than the Level of the Neck of Land.—b The King's—c The Prince's Lines, cut out of the Rock since the first Siege.—d A Line call'd the Breach.—e The old Moorish Castle.—f Devil's Tower.—g Moro's.—h An Inundation made since the last Siege, which renders it utterly impossible for an Enemy to carry on any Approaches, as they did in the first Siege to the Glacis, so great a Quantity of Water being now let in, that the whole Front of the Garrison next the Land is made inaccessible.—i A Sluice to the said Inundation, by which Means the Sea may be let in at Pleasure, and all Attempts of an Enemy to drain it are impracticable.—l North Bastion.—K Old Mole.—l The Hospital.—l The Governor's Garden.—m Powder Magazine.—n South Bastion.—o Demi Bastion.—p Flat Bastion.—L An old Moorish Line.—M Charles Vt's Line.—N Aquæduct.—O 8 Gun Battery.—q New Chapel.—r New Barracks.—P New Mole.—s Fort of the New Mole.—t Rofia Bay.—Q Ruins of a noble Water Cistern, call'd the Moors Baguio.—R Nostra Sehora de Europa.—v v v v v The Enemy's Approaches and Batteries, now demolis'd.—u u The Enemy's main Battery in the first Siege.—S Spanish Commandant's Quarters.—w w w Sand Hills.—x x x The Line or Wall (with its Ditch or Moat) which the Spaniards have built cross the Neck of Land, about a Mile from our Works, and 2 or 3 Miles from the anchoring Places near the New Mole, and therefore they cannot annoy our Ships, nor could they in the former Sieges prevent any Succours being convey'd into the Town, tho' their Batteries were then much nearer than now; besides, our Batteries are so high, as to overlook and command theirs, and from whence we could in a few Hours destroy them, should they make any such Attempts: This Wall can, therefore, be of no other Use than to hinder a clandestine Trade, or at most to prevent any sudden Excursion of Soldiers or Sailors to rob and plunder the Country.—T St. Michael's Cave, able to contain 1000 Men, and where a Party of desperate Spaniards hid themselves two Days in the first Siege in 1705, they having enter'd into a slemma Combination, either to take the Place, or die in the Attempt; to which End they ascended the back Part of the Mountain at Middle Hill and Salto Garrobo, with the greatest Difficulty and Hazard, and were to have fallen on the Back of the Town, whilst the Besiegers made a general Assault on the Front; but being discover'd before their Design was ripe for Execution, were attack'd by a Detachment of the Garrison, and, refusing to take Quarter, all jump'd down the vast Precipice (their Commander leading the Way) and peris'd, not one out of 500 Men escaping to tell with what Pains and miserable Consequence such an Attempt was attended. The French and Spaniards, after this, rais'd the Siege, tho' the Works of the Besieged lay all in Ruins, and only a Handful of about 1200 Men to defend the Place against a powerful Army of near 30,000 French and Spaniards. This fruitless Siege in 1705 by so numerous an Army, under an experienc'd French General, evinces how impracticable any future Attempts are like to be, when this Fortress has been strengthen'd with so many new Fortifications, and a sufficient Garrison has the Defence of it.

This important Place was taken by the English in the Year 1704, and confirm'd to them by the Treaty of Utrecht.

Lord Viscount Shannon, and Sir Charles Wills, after which they march'd in a regular Form to their Camp on Hounslow Heath.

TUESDAY, 24.

Came on the Election of Sheriffs of London and Middlesex for the ensuing Year, when the Choice, by a great Majority, fell on Mr. Alderman Marshall, and Mr. Alderman Hoare.—The Election of a Bridge Master also came on, when on holding up of Hands a great Majority appear'd in Favour of Mr. Piddington, Citizen and Distiller; but a Poll was demanded in favour of Mr. Keynton, Mr. Nafb, and Mr. Marstrand; which the two former soon declin'd.

Sir John Norris, Knt. hoisted his Flag on board the *Victory*, a First Rate of 110 Guns.

WEDNESDAY, 25.

The following Gentlemen were elected Governors and Guardians of the Hospital for exposed and deserted young Children, viz. the

Right Hon. Sir John Salter, Knt. Lord Mayer, the Hon. Sir William Barker, Bart. John Brown, Esq; Pleydell Goddard, Esq; Mr. Thomas Lane, James Smyth, Esq; Mr. John Wenham, James West, Esq;

There have been several Reports concerning Admiral Vernon since our last, how true we cannot say; as, that he bombarded Cartagena for three Days, in which Time he threw 300 Bombs into the Town, and then return'd; and afterwards, that he was actually before Cartagena, and had taken the Boca Chica Castles. See the Plan in our Magazine for April, p. 194.

We had also an Account from South Carolina, of the Shoreham Man of War taking a considerable Spanish Privateer: And from Port-Mabon, of the Garland Man of War taking a Vessel carrying Ammunition and Troops for Majorca. See the Plan of Port-Mabon in our last, p. 246.

Copy

Copy of a Letter from the brave Commander of the *Sea-Horse*, of the Port of *Bristol*, to his Owners there.

Civita-Veccbia, April 24, 1740, O. S.

SIRS,

SINCE our Misfortune of being taken by the barbarous *Spaniards*, I had not the Liberty to write to you; none from the Shore were suffer'd to see or hear from me. They used us in a most barbarous Manner, giving our People little to eat, and quite naked. God be praised we have got our Liberty with Ship and Cargo. The Privateer has been gone about 3 Weeks, and left nothing on board but the Masts standing and Sails to the Yards, with two Cables, one of which was new, they cut off it 30 Fathom, some of the Water Casks, two Anchors, and two Guns. There is not the least Thing of any Kind left on board. The *Mediterranean Pass* is also taken away, and all my Things, so that I have not so much left, as will wrap round my Finger, and the Men naked. Having no Consul or Envoy here to make our Application to, must be satisfy'd till we have a further Hearing, who must make good the Damage, for the *Spaniards* that robbed us are gone. We are in no Case fit to proceed from hence, and what to do I don't know, till I have your Orders; not having any Pass or Colours, so shall be a Prize to the *Turk*.

It was on the 8th of *March* it happen'd; we were within two Miles of our Port; they were in the Mould when they saw us; two *Sebecks* belonging to *Majorca*, each 70 Men on board, with 4 Carriage Guns and 12 Swivels; one of them came out with both Crews on board, and their Launch; the Launch came first with 60 Men, and ordered me to strike for the King of *Spain*, and if I offered to fire they would cut us in Pound Pieces. I told them I did not know the King of *Spain*, and if they wanted us to strike they must come on board and do it; but they were not so good as to come; we soon gave them their Discharge and sent them on board the Privateer, which was within Gun-shot of us; having a light Breeze of Wind, when we came within Pistol-shot we fired into him, which did him some Hurt: They then laid us on board on our Larboard-side, but we soon clear'd them; and they boarded us a second Time, but could not stay long, but went on board their own Vessel, carrying their Wounded and Dead with them, which made them make a lamentable Outcry, so that half of them run down into the Hold. I could see them, but could not come at them. If I had had but 30 Men to have followed me with Sword in Hand, I am certain I could have taken them, for they did not know what to do. At last they began to fire their great Guns; they beat in our Dead-Lights, and damaged our Quarter

very much. As we were drove out of the Cabin, and having no Guns forward, and two of our People wounded out of 7, our whole Number, we called for Quarter, and they were soon on board like Lions, and demanded us on Deck. I went up first, and they met me and stript me naked, and fell on me as if I had been roast Beef, and quickly drove me that I was obliged to go Head foremost over-board, or be cut to Pieces; they fired a Pistol at me as I was going into the Water, two Balls went thro' my left Foot, thro' the Calf of my Leg, and up into my Thigh, and there rested till they were cut out. I have suffered a great deal, and still obliged to keep my Bed, am afraid shall not have the Use of my Leg, for they cut my Wounds across my Flesh. The next Man that came on Deck they cut him all to Pieces, and he died in three Days. After the third that came up they attempted to cut his Head off, but missing their Stroke took his Shoulder and cut it almost off; the rest seeing this hid themselves. Whilst I was in the Water I swam towards their Boat to take me in, one of them up with his Oar to knock me on the Head, I dived under, by which I avoided the Blow; at last they took me up into one of their Boats. I had several Wounds and Cuts on my Body, my left Hand cut open to the Wrist, with a great Cut in my Head, the Water all about me was the Colour of Blood. The Battle lasted an Hour before we struck. We killed 16 of them on the Spot, whom they hove directly over-board. Four we wounded, two of which died. The Doctor was ashore, which obliged them to come in.

If it had not been for the Governor of this Place we should have been carried away by those Villains, and they would never have let me live to see Land. They have said, if ever they catch me, they will cut me in Pound Pieces; I am not afraid of them.

There is only one Way to destroy these Privateers, and easily done, which is this; to have a small Vessel, like ours, with good Accommodations to mount 6 freight Guns, and about 130 Men; not to shew above 7 or 8 Men on Deck, till the Privateer came along-side and grappled fast, then every Man on Deck: The Surprise would take them, for they have no Souls. As for our Men of War, they are as fit to go after them, as a Cow after a Hare, and they as much mind them, for they sail incomparable well, that nothing can touch them. God Almighty has granted me a little longer Time here: All my Desire is to have another Knock at them before I die. Having much more to say, and not able to move out of Bed, I remain

Your most humble,
And most obedient Servant,
JOHN READ.
FRI.

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FRIDAY, 27.

The Poll for Bridge-Master ended, which stood thus; for Mr. Piddington 2217, for Mr. Maryland 1788; so that the former carry'd it by a Majority of 429.

On the three young Lions whelp'd this Month in the Tower.

Whilst at such distance from their native

lands,

From southern climes, and hot *Getulia's* sands,
The captive lions join in love's embrace,
And propagate with us their tawny race;
We quit the prodigy, before unknown,
And claim the royal species for our own.

In this fair omen let *Britannia* see
The pledge of rule, and destin'd victory;
And whilst she meditates her dread alarms,
And farthest *India* trembles at her arms,
Let her triumphant navies, on the main,
From sun to sun assert her antient reign,
And check the *Gallic* pride, and humble
haughty *Spain*.

MARRIAGES and BIRTHS.

SIR Edmund Thomas, Bart. to Mrs. Northey.
Hon. Heneage Legg, Esq; Son to the Earl of Dartmouth, to Miss Katherine Pegg, Niece to Sir John Barnard and Sir Robert Gadsball.

John Crawley, Member of Parl. for Marlborough, to Miss Sambroke, Sister to Sir Jeremy Vanacker Sambroke, Bart.

Joseph Smyth, Doctor of Laws, to Miss Lydia Barney.

William Richardson, Esq; Agent in *Ireland*, for the City of *London*, to Mrs. Mary Eyles, Sister of Sir John Eyles, Bart.

Joshua Burchett, Esq; Secretary of the Admiralty, to Mrs. Wood.

Sir Robert Clifton, Bart. Knight of the Bath, to Miss Lombe, eldest Daughter of the late Sir Thomas Lombe, Knight and Alderman.

Rev. Mr. Lloyd, of St. George in the East, to Miss Petre.

Adolphus Meekerk, Esq; to Miss Hopkins.

Rev. Dr. Bateman, Archdeacon of *Leeds*, to Miss Mary Smalbrook, Daughter of the Bp. of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*.

Thomas Warwick, of *Stanley* in *Warwickshire*, Esq; to Miss Lettice.

His Grace the Duke of *Leeds*, to the Lady Mary Godolphin, Daughter of the Right Hon. the Earl of Godolphin.

The Lady of the Right Hon. the Lord Vere Beaufort, safely deliver'd of a Son.

The Lady of Sir Cecil Bifflop, Bart. of a Son.

Countess of *Gainsborough*, also of a Son.

DEATHS.

RIGHT Hon. the Countess of *Ailesford*.
Rt. Hon. the Earl of *Glasgow*.

Leonard Smelt, Esq; Memb. of Parl. for *Northallerton* in *Yorkshire*, and Clerk of the Office of *Ordnance*.

Arthur Ackland, Esq; an eminent *Portugal* Merchant of this City.

Rt. Hon. Henry de Grey, Duke and Earl of *Kent*, Marquess Grey, Earl of *Harold*, Visc. *Goodrick*, Baron *Grey*, and Baron *Lucas* of *Crudwell*, Lord *Lieut.* and *Custos Rotulorum* of the County of *Bedford*, one of the Privy Council, and Knight of the Garter.

Rt. Hon. Thomas Onslow, Lord *Onslow* and Baronet, Lord *Lieut.* of the County of *Surrey*, one of the Tellers of the *Exchequer*, High Steward of *Guildford*, and Uncle to the Rt. Hon. the Speaker of the Hon. House of Commons.

Lambert Blackwell, Esq;

Mr. Vandermeer, an eminent Dutch Merchant.

Mrs. Hallam, a celebrated *Actress*.

Rev. Dr. Robinson, Vicar of *Knotsford* in *Cheshire*, aged 91.

At *Dorking*, Dr. Budgen, a Physician of great Practice.

John Smith, Esq; High Sheriff of *Kent*.

Major *Gosling*, of General *Anstruther's* Reg. of Foot.

Edward Ventris, Esq; Master of the King's Bench Office.

Lord Visc. *Wallingford*, Memb. of Parl. for *Banbury*.

John Lawton, of *Lawton* in *Cheshire*, Esq; Memb. of Parl. for *Newcastle under Line*.

Corbet Kynaston, Esq; Knight of the Shire for the County of *Salop*.

Sir William Wyndham, Bart. Knight of the Shire for the County of *Somerset*, one of the best Speakers in the House of Commons. He is succeeded in Dignity and Estate by his Son Charles Wyndham, Esq; now Sir Charles Wyndham, Bart. Memb. of Parl. for *Bridgwater*.

George Liddell, Esq; Memb. of Parliament for *Berwick upon Tweed*.

At his Chambers in the *Temple*, Mr. John Biggall, Filazer for the Counties of *Surrey*, *Suffolk*, and *Kent*.

John Crew, Esq; a near Relation to the late Nathaniel Crew, Baron *Crew of Stone*, and Lord *Bishop of Durham*.

Henry Luffingham, Esq; formerly High Sheriff for the County of *Oxford*.

Hon. Mrs. Farmer, Aunt to the Earl of *Pomfret*.

Samuel Holden, Esq; an eminent *Russia* Merchant, Governor of the *Bank*, and Member of Parliament for *Eastlow* in *Cornwall*.

The Lady Lucy, Wife of Sir *Berkley Lucy*, Bart.

Rev. Mr. Charles Wade, M. A. Chaplain to the Duke of *Portland*.

Kendall Fynes, Esq; a near Relation to the Earl of *Lincoln*, and Brother to Mr. Henry Fynes, an eminent Merchant of this City: As he was riding from *Horn-castle* to *Routon*, his Dwelling-house, his Horse took Fright, and threw him with such Violence on his Head, as fractur'd his *Skull* in so violent a Manner, that he instantly expired.

Ecclesiastical PREFERMENTS.

NATHANIEL Brite, B. A. to the Rector of Stoke-Pero in Somersetshire.
Mr. Smallwood, M. A. to the Rector of Ampleforth in Yorkshire.

Walter Walker Ward, B. A. to the Living of Biddenden in the Diocese of Canterbury.

John Stirling, M. A. Chaplain to the Duke of Gordon, to the Vicarage of Great Gaddesden in Hertfordshire.

Dean Auchmuty to the Prebendary and Rector of Carn Castle, &c. in the County of Antrim in Ireland.

Rev. Dr. Fowler of Norwich appointed Chancellor of the Diocese of Bristol.

PROMOTIONS Civil and Military.

CHARLES Cotterell, Esq; made Master of the Ceremonies, in Cases where the Master of the Ceremonies cannot be present; and also Marshal of the Ceremonies in the Room of Dr. Inglis, deceas'd.

Mr. Serjeant Singleton, made Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in Ireland.

William Strickland, Esq; made a Commissioner of the Excise in Ireland.

Capt. Eaton appointed Major of the first Troop of Life Guards, in the Room of the Lord Viscount Wallingford, deceas'd.

PERSONS declar'd Bankrupts.

THOMAS Beates, of the Parish of St. Sepulchre, London, Bricklayer.

William Adye, of Cateaton-street, London, Packer.

Joseph Walcott, of Seetbing-lane, London, Wine-Merchant.

Edward Burchett, of Foster-lane, London, Ironmonger.

William Barwell, of Glemsford in the County of Suffolk, Grocer.

John Gibbons, of Hatberleigh in the County of Devon, Serge-Maker.

John Cowden, of St. Giles's in the Fields, Middlesex, Carpenter.

James Frentwell, of Shepperton, in Middlesex, Rope-maker and Victualler.

William Weaver, of Redcross-Street, London, Broker.

Richard Brown, of Flushing Court in the Precinct of St. Catherine's, Middlesex, Merchant, Dealer, and Chapman.

Francis Newton, late of Darlington in the County of Durham, Linen-Weaver and Flax-dresser.

John Snowden, of the Parish of St. Sepulchre's, London, Brewer.

John Halifax, of Fleet-street, London, Watch and Clock-maker.

Anthony Druce, late of Bradford, in the County of Wilts, Clothier.

Josiah Weare and Thomas Weare, of Sudbury, in the County of Gloucester, Linen-Drapers, Grocers and Partners.

Thomas Hill, of Tower-Hill, London, Grocer.

Henry Atkinson, of Bradford, in the County of York, Felt-maker.

S T O C K S.

S. Sea 102 $\frac{1}{8}$ a $\frac{1}{4}$ African 10
— Ann. 112 $\frac{1}{8}$ a $\frac{1}{2}$ Royal Aff. nothing
Bank 143 $\frac{3}{4}$ Lon. ditto 12
— Cire. 51 15s 3 p. C. Ann. no Tran.
M. Bank 116 Salt Tallies $\frac{1}{4}$ a $\frac{1}{2}$
India no Transfer Emp. Loan 112 $\frac{1}{4}$
— Bonds 51 11s a 12s Equiv. no Transfer

The Course of EXCHANGE.

Amst. 35 5 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ Bilbao 41
D. Sigt 35 2 Legborn 49 $\frac{7}{8}$ a 50
Rotter. 35 6 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ a 2 Genoa 53 $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{5}{8}$
Hamb. 34 3 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ Venice 50 $\frac{2}{8}$
Paris 32 $\frac{3}{16}$ a $\frac{1}{4}$ Lisbon 51 5d $\frac{3}{8}$ a $\frac{1}{4}$
Bourdx. 32 $\frac{1}{4}$ Porto 51 4d $\frac{1}{2}$
Cadiz 42 a $\frac{1}{8}$ Antw. 35 11
Madrid 42 Dublin 8 $\frac{1}{8}$

Prices of Goods at Bear-Key.

Wheat	30	36	Pease	21	29
Rye	13	18	H. Pease	16	18
Barley	14	19	H. Beans	17	22
Oats	12	16	B. Malt	16	18
Tares	19	22	P. Malt	20	22

Abstract of the London WEEKLY BILL, from May 27. to June 24.

Christned	5 Males	546	1069
	2 Females	523	
Buried	5 Males	1059	2225
	2 Females	1166	
Died under 2 Years old		804	
Between 2 and 5		252	
5		10	81
10		20	66
20		30	158
30		40	184
40		50	204
50		60	196
60		70	134
70		80	108
80		90	53
90 and upwards		5	

Hay 44 to 48s. a Load.

ALL

ALL our late Advices from *Paris* say, that his most Christian Majesty's Ministers, and particularly, the Cardinal Prime Minister, have made strong Remonstrances to the Earl of *Waldegrave*, our Ambassador at that Court, against his Majesty's Proclamation for encouraging private Companies to make Conquests upon the *Spaniards* in *America*, with a Promise to maintain them in the Possession of such as they shall be able to take Possession of. It is said, that before this Proclamation was issued, the Cardinal had made some Overtures of Peace, to be treated of between *Spain* and us, by the Mediation of the Courts of *Vienna*, *Lisbon*, and the *Hague*, and that the Preliminary to this Treaty was to be, a Stipulation to restore all Places conquered during the War, which this Proclamation might render impossible. But, if this be the only Obstacle to a Treaty, Care seems to have been taken not to throw any such Obstacle in its Way, and therefore, the Negotiation may be commenced as soon as his Eminence pleases to prescribe; for whoever are to be the *Mediators*, his Eminence will probably be the chief *Super-intendant*.

As the *French* take great Care not only to keep Possession, but to make the best Use of every Conquest they make, they have now above 3000 Men at Work on the Fortifications of *Bicke* in *Lorrain*; which is a Fort built on a steep Rock on the Confines of that Dutchy next *Germany*, and lies in a Plain between two Mountains, which makes the most convenient Passage or Communication between that Country and the Empire of *Germany*. For this Reason, a Town is to be built in this Place, which is to be divided into the Upper and Lower, and both to be strongly fortified. They are taking the same Care to secure their Possession of *Corsica*, by making High-ways for rendering the Communication easy between the several Towns and Provinces of the Island, and by fortifying all the Sea-Coast Towns and Villages, in order to render an Invasion difficult, if not impracticable. If we had done the same in *Minorca*, we should now have had very little Occasion to be afraid of its being surprized.

Tho' the College of Commerce at *Cadiz* at first scrupled to comply with his Catholick Majesty's Demand of the Loan of a Million of Piafiers, as mentioned in our last, yet, they have at last so far yielded as to agree, to lend him the Sum of 800,000, which that Court stands in great Need of at present, their Finances being in very bad Order, and all their warlike Projects retarded, or entirely suspended, for want of the ready Rhino, which is a Misfortune our Ministers, thank God! cannot complain of.

The united Squadrons of *Cadiz* and *Ferrol* continue still at the last mentioned Place, but with Orders to keep themselves always ready to sail at an Hour's Warning; and 'tis publickly given out at *Madrid*, that a Design

is formed against *Scotland* or *Ireland*, which is a very good Reason for believing, that no such was ever formed; and that this Bravado is made with no other View, but to oblige us to keep upon our own Coasts, those Squadrons that ought to be employed for infesting the Coasts of the Enemy.

'Tis computed at *Madrid*, that since the Beginning of the War, his Catholick Majesty has, upon Applications from private Men, granted no less than 230 Commissions to Privateers for cruising upon our Merchants; and, by a List published at the same Place it appears, that within the Months of *January*, *February*, and *March* last, they have taken 37 British Merchant Ships, the Cargoes of which are valued at above 140,000*l.* Sterling. At this Rate, if the War be carried on for any Number of Years, in the same Manner it has been hitherto, both the Number and Skill of the *Spanish* Seamen will be greatly increased, at the Expence of this Nation.

The King of *Prussia* having died on the 20th of last Month, he was succeeded by the Prince his eldest Son, whose Accession to the Throne of his Ancestors was attended with great Acclamations, and with the universal Joy of the People, which soon appeared, not to be without a very good Foundation; for the young King began his Reign with making several Alterations which tended to secure the Liberties, and establish the Happiness of his People. As there was upon his Accession a Scarcity of Corn in his Dominions, he immediately ordered, that all his Magazines and Granaries should be opened for the Support of the Poor, and that the Commerce between his Dominions and other Countries, should be entirely free. He likewise ordered, that all forcible Inlistments of Soldiers should be forbidden under severe Penalties; and he has since abolished the Custom, introduced by his Father, of registering Children as soon as born, in order to make them serve in the Army when grown up. At the same Time, he charged the several Tribunals within his Territories, to enquire carefully into every Thing that wanted to be redressed; upon which Occasion, he made this remarkable Declaration, which ought to be, tho' it seldom is, the Maxim of every King's Government, *viz.* *My Will is, that whenever my private Interest clashes with the publick Good, the latter shall always prevail.*

It seems, the *Russians* do not understand the modern, polite Method of endeavouring to get Satisfaction for Insults, by tedious Negotiations; for, by late Accounts from *Constantinople*, we are told, that the *Russian* Minister there demanded Satisfaction from the *Porte*, for a fresh Insult committed by the *Tartars* upon the *Cossacks*; and, at the same Time declared, that this (which was the first) should be the last Time it would be demanded by the *Czessina* his Sovereign, who, if it were not granted, would take her own Way to do herself Justice.

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